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IN TODAY'S JERUSALEM POST

- Jerusalem's new "settlement" is a tent city which has sprung up to protest government policy. Herb Keilon visits and tells. Section B.
- Tilting at windmills: some environmentalists battle a proposed Galilee wind farm, claiming the savings in electricity do not justify altering the landscape. Ava Carmel reports. Magazine.
- Is monosodium glutamate the evil it's cooked up to be? Daniel Rogov investigates. Magazine.
- Schools are out, and Disney is out with a new film that's the pick of the pride. Adina Hoffman reviews "The Lion King," this year's sensation. Time Out.

Investigation forces top policeman to take leave

RAINE MARCUS and BILL HUTMAN

CDR. Ya'acov Ganot, chief of the Northern District Police, said yesterday that he was taking leave pending the completion of an investigation against him.

That an investigation is being conducted into allegations Ganot received favors and money from building contractors and businessmen was made public for the first time yesterday, at the same time as his announcement.

The secret investigation had been conducted for the past several months by the Justice Ministry's police investigations division, which began after an anonymous letter detailed the alleged wrongdoing. The decision to publicize it shows the allegations are being taken seriously, police sources said. Only Ganot himself, Police Inspector-General Asaf Hefetz and a few other senior officers knew about it.

Ganot said staying on would set a bad example for his officers.



Mordechai Algrabi and his son, Ofer, 11, mourn by the grave of their son and brother, paratrooper Lt. Yehuda Algrabi, 22, at his funeral yesterday in Jerusalem. Algrabi was killed on Wednesday when a Sagger missile hit his post in the security zone. Story, Page 2. (Brian Hendler)

Ben-Porat: Shahal clean, Turner lied, Sheves interfered

State comptroller rules on Deri investigation

BILL HUTMAN and RAINE MARCUS

POLICE Minister Moshe Shahal did not interfere in the investigation of former interior minister Aryeh Deri, while former police inspector-general Ya'acov Turner falsely accused him of doing so, State Comptroller Minam Ben-Porat ruled yesterday. It was Prime Minister's Office Director-General Shimon Sheves who improperly interfered on Deri's behalf, Ben-Porat announced.

Ben-Porat sharply criticized Turner for making false accusations against Shahal and misleading the public and the Knesset state control committee concerning his plans to enter politics.

The special comptroller's report released yesterday officially details efforts by two politicians, Sheves and Deri, to influence a police investigation.

It also details Shahal's resignation and reform in the relations between the political and law enforcement establishments.

The bulk of the report shows "the falsehood in Turner's testimony" against Shahal. Shahal told reporters he felt "relieved" by the findings and knew his innocence would be proven.

But Ben-Porat also went on to outline the "improper behavior" of Sheves in the Deri case, noting that while this was not the subject she was mandated to investigate, the issue could not be avoided.

Sheves "testified that at Deri's request he telephoned Turner in order to make a connection between the two. According to [Sheves], Deri first demanded that the [investigating] team be changed."

"But later, apparently in a second conversation, they [Deri and Turner] came to an agreement by which the former team head, [deputy commander] Gilboa, would not be removed, and instead would not attend all the interrogation sessions," Ben-Porat wrote.

Ben-Porat details several conversations between Deri and Turner, and Sheves and Turner, that took place in the director-general's office, the day Deri agreed to speak to interrogators.

Sheves justified his actions on grounds that Deri and Turner were at odds, making it legitimate for him to contact the inspector-general on the then minister's behalf. He told Ben-Porat he was a personal friend of Turner's.

"If [Sheves] confined himself to making a connection between Deri and Turner... it would have been understandable. But his active interference, in particular by presenting Deri's request to change the investigating team, was not in line with the behavior expected of the director-general of the Prime Minister's Office."

Ben-Porat noted that Sheves in effect knowingly implicated himself when he presented his story—which strongly backed up Shahal's case—to her. Sheves told Ben-Porat that Shahal was never mentioned in the Deri-Turner conversations.

Deri has since resigned from office and is on trial in Jerusalem District Court for bribery and other corruption charges. Sheves told Israel Television last night that "he accepts the criticism of the comptroller," but that he acted without bad intentions.

The 36-page report was presented by Ben-Porat at a heated meeting of the Knesset state control committee yesterday morning. None of those discussed in the report was present.

"A police investigation must be conducted under the sole authority of the Israel Police," Ben-Porat concluded in the report. (Continued on Page 2)

Girl shot dead by terrorists; body of slain soldier found

HERB KEILON and JON IMMANUEL

A 17-YEAR-OLD girl was shot to death by terrorists and the body of a soldier who had been stabbed and shot was found in an abandoned house yesterday in two separate incidents in the territories.

Sarit Prigal died and her father, Avraham, and seven-year-old brother Nuriel were wounded when terrorists opened fire from a passing car at about 9 p.m. near the entrance to Kiryat Arba. Settlement sources said the attackers drove into Hebron, where the car was later found torched.

The wounded were taken to Jerusalem's Hadassah-University Hospital in Ein Kerem. The father and son were listed in satisfactory condition, the former with a bullet wound in the arm and the latter with a bullet wound in the leg. Two other family members, the mother and a younger brother, were in the car but not hurt.

The soldier, whose body was found near the Arab village of Kafr Akab, near Ramallah, was identified as Arye Frankenthal, 20, from Moshav Gimzo near Lod. He had apparently left his base in the South on Wednesday and was to have returned the same day. When he did not return, the base reported him missing. His body was found yesterday by the mukhtar of the village, who notified the army.

Military sources said it appears Frankenthal was given a ride near his base by terrorists, who then killed him and drove his body to the Ramallah area, where they dumped it.

The case bears a resemblance to the murder of Shahr Simani on April 21. Simani, from Ashkelon, also left a base in the South and his body was found in Beit Hanina, less than 10 kilometers from where Frankenthal's body was discovered. Simani and Frankenthal left their bases on the same day of the week, Wednesday.

No terror group has yet claimed responsibility for killing Frankenthal. No group claimed immediate responsibility in the Simani case either, and police doubted the claim of responsibility later made by Hamas.

The General Security Service has launched a wide manhunt for Frankenthal's killers. A curfew was imposed on Kafr Akab and surrounding villages, and army units were also searching Ramallah neighborhoods.

Neighbors of the Frankenthal family said that Arye had been drafted a year after graduating from high school and had served in the army for one year.

In a related matter, lawyer Amir Abrahami, who met with Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in jail yesterday, told ITV Channel 1 last night that the Hamas leader is willing to use his influence to help find the body of

(Continued on Page 2)

Rabin: Autonomy talks will need more time; Arafat pledges to cancel anti-Israel sections in covenant

ELDAD BECK and Itim

NEGOTIATIONS over autonomy in Judea and Samaria will continue for a longer time because problems arising in the talks are much more complicated, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said last night.

"If you add the elections [issue], things will get even more complex, and negotiations will go on even longer," Rabin told a joint news conference with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres on their return from Paris, where they met with PLO

Chairman Yasser Arafat.

The prime minister said it was expressly in the security field that the agreement with the PLO was working satisfactorily after six weeks of its implementation, but things were going less smoothly regarding civil matters.

He noted that autonomy could not be implemented in Judea and Samaria without elections, but the elections could not be held without

first reaching an agreement on an interim arrangement in Judea and Samaria.

Rabin said that he believes efforts should now concentrate on early transfer of authority in Judea and Samaria, although problems there are more involved and will require a different formula, mainly because there are many more settlements and military installations there. He added that there were also many more security

(Continued on Page 3)

Northern Yemeni forces capture Aden

SAN'A (AP) — Aden, the key southern bastion, fell to government Yemeni troops yesterday after the leaders of the separatist revolt fled the war-torn country, a Yemeni official said.

"Aden has fallen. Thank God, the war is over," Yemen's ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Ghaleb Ali Jamil, told The Associated Press by telephone.

He said the separatist leader, Ali Salem Beidh, and five of his aides had slipped out of Aden by boat under cover of night and arrived in Oman, Yemen's eastern neighbor. They were immediately granted asylum, he said.

The government of Oman refused to comment on the report. (Full report, Page 3)

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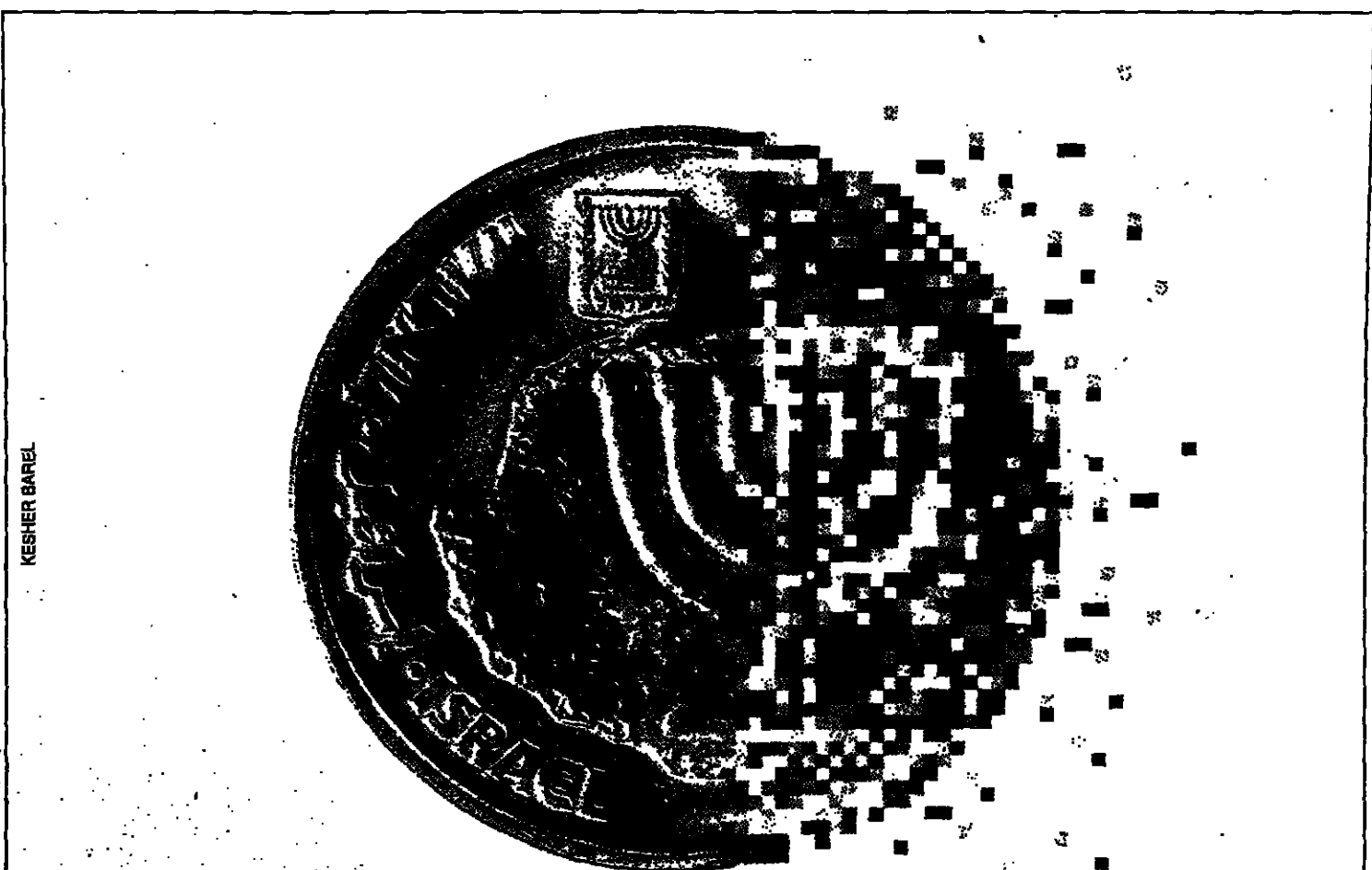
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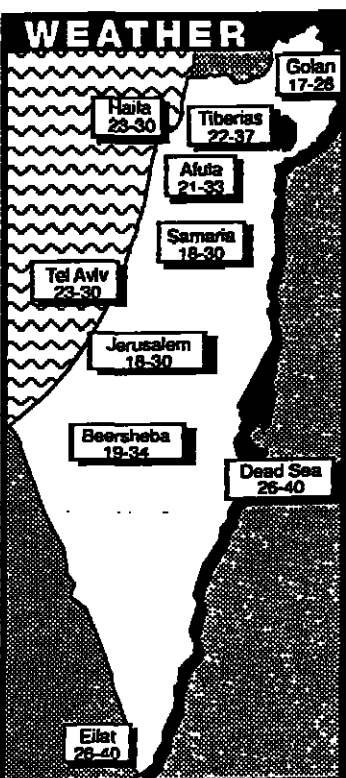
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Brussels	13	19	12	40	partly cloudy
Frankfurt	14	20	10	30	partly cloudy
Hamburg	13	19	12	40	partly cloudy
London	12	18	15	50	partly cloudy
Madrid	16	22	10	20	partly cloudy
Munich	14	20	10	30	partly cloudy
New York	18	24	10	20	partly cloudy
Paris	14	20	10	30	partly cloudy
Rome	16	22	10	20	partly cloudy
Tokyo	22	28	10	20	partly cloudy
Washington	18	24	10	20	partly cloudy

Winning numbers

In last night's Payis Hazak drawing, the holder of ticket number 229925 won NIS 1,000,000, while the holder of ticket number 472784 won a Honda sports car. Tickets numbered 003941, 439601, 748037, 057980, 459044, 478804, 214443, 266710, 261188, 396939, 136436, 018663, 088858, 768458, 398401, 237851, 194419, 343941, 764735, 347825, 894408, 088893, 032300, 144694, 370421 and 634448 won NIS 5,000. Those tickets ending in 72342, 13596, 54072, 75333, 54261, 94952, 03976, 97943, 16520, 39744, 32674, 96539, 14862, 01338, 16224, 43301, 61745, 05160 and 10089 won NIS 1,000. Tickets ending in 635, 993, 807 and 471 won NIS 100. Tickets ending in 00, 59, 77 and 46 won NIS 20. Tickets ending in 31, 29, 38, 96, 99, 62 and 91 won NIS 10. Tickets ending in 2 won NIS 7.

Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were: nine, eight, of spades, king of hearts, nine of diamonds, and queen of clubs.

Senior officer: Hizbullah will regret last two attacks

ALON PINKAS

ISRAEL has the ability and the means to hit Hizbullah so severely that the organization will regret its last two attacks which killed two soldiers, a senior northern command source said yesterday.

Speaking following two days of intense exchanges of fire between the IDF, South Lebanese Army and Hizbullah, the source added that Syria and the Lebanese government will bear all responsibility for these attacks, including any inadvertent collateral damage to the population in the villages which harbor Hizbullah gunmen.

"Some of the shooting originated from within villages, in a blatant violation of the understandings reached after last summer's Operation Accountability," the senior source said. The *Jerusalem Post* learned yesterday that Israel advised the US administration of Hizbullah's attacks and linked them to Syrian indifference and tacit encouragement.

Prime Minister and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Rabin will hold a consultation meeting in the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv today to discuss the situation.

Paratrooper Lt. Yehuda Algrabi, 22, was buried yesterday in Jerusalem. He was killed Wednesday eve-

ning when a Sagger missile hit an IDF outpost in Reihan, in the eastern sector of the security zone. Earlier in the week, Golani Brigade Staff Sgt. Shmaya Avichai Danoch was killed in the same outpost by a mortar shell and a Sagger missile, which hit a concrete wall and fatally wounded him.

The IDF has launched a comprehensive reevaluation of the line of outposts in the eastern sector of the security zone. OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Yitzhak Mordechai said after a special investigation into the two incidents that the soldiers manning the Reihan outpost acted properly and followed all operational regulations and precautions. A northern command source said Hizbullah was "just lucky."

"Unfortunately, this is a statistical truism. Given all the attacks they have waged in the last several months, our casualty rate has been low, albeit every soldier killed or wounded is not taken lightly or statistically," he added.

Northern Command Chief of Staff Brig.-Gen. Rafi Noy said yesterday

that Hizbullah is desperately trying to bounce back from the severe blows it was handed by the IDF lately.

"In every one of the last incidents they have fired a great number of mortar shells and Sagger anti-tank missiles. All our casualties were a result of the first wave of missiles and shells, which came as a surprise. This is not an escalation of the situation in south Lebanon, but a display of more audacity," said Noy. He confirmed that the command will weigh several possible responses and submit them to the General Staff.

Noy emphasized that the IDF will continue its plan to transfer control of front line outposts to the South Lebanese Army, and after a period of time, the SLA will be responsible for entire areas.

MK Ori Orr, Chairman of the Knesset foreign affairs and defense committee, said on Army Radio yesterday that the IDF and the defense minister will have to consider an array of military activities if the war of attrition in Lebanon persists.

"The kidnapping of Mustafa Dirani, the air force strike in Ein-Dafar and Operation Accountability before that were examples of effective military measures that should be continued," he said.

Christopher Peres, Majali meet July 20

ALON PINKAS

A TRI-LATERAL meeting of the foreign ministers of the United States, Israel, and Jordan is to take place in the Arava on July 20, two days after Israeli and Jordanian representatives are to begin the first round of peace talks to be held in the region.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday confirmed that a meeting among the three ministers had been agreed upon, but said it was not finalized.

"We have offered to Jordan, through the US and with their cooperation, to transfer the bilateral talks to the region. We have agreed that the talks will be held somewhere in the Arava, in a tent, and the parties will discuss security issues, borders, water, and environmental issues. These talks will be held alternately on both sides of the border. After two days we offered a trilateral meeting among the foreign ministers. I hope all this will materialize," Rabin told reporters at Ben-Gurion Airport upon returning from Paris yesterday.

US sees 'window open' for progress with Syria

HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON

The Clinton administration believes "the window of opportunity is open" for an Israeli-Syrian breakthrough this year, a senior administration official said yesterday.

But the US, characteristically, is downplaying the chance for progress during Secretary of State Warren Christopher's upcoming mission to Damascus and Jerusalem.

Following Christopher's two shuttles to the region in the spring, the US believes that now "the pieces of the puzzle are on the table and the challenge is to put them together," he said.

Christopher's five-day itinerary, beginning July 17, is not yet firm, nor is it clear whether he will participate in the inaugural Israeli-Jordanian talks in the Arava, the official told foreign journalists.

The US considers it significant that Syrian President Hafez Assad sent an Independence Day message to President Bill Clinton last weekend that reaffirmed his commitment to a com-

prehensive peace.

Assad "could have just said, 'Happy July 4th.' Stop," the official said, adding that "our indications are that Assad and [Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin are committed to achieving a real and lasting peace."

The official conceded that "time is not inexhaustible" and that the administration had run counter to conventional wisdom by its earlier public assertions that 1994 would be a breakthrough year for Israeli-Syrian talks.

But he said the US believes "that an opportunity exists now" and "we need to take advantage of that."

"The peace process itself is now beginning to put down roots. We see it in [the implementation of] Gaza/Jericho, we see it in what happened [in the Rabin-Arafat meeting] in Paris last night, and we see it with Israel and Jordan. We need to move, but I still think we have enough breath to continue."



A police officer at the house in the Arab village of Akeb near Ramallah where the body of kidnapped and murdered soldier Arye Frankenthal was found. (Ariel Jerozolimski)

Ramon, Shohat, Sneh to appoint teams for Clalit recovery plan

JOSE ROSENFELD

HISTADRUT Secretary-General Haim Ramon, Finance Minister Avraham Shohat and Health Minister Ephraim Sneh agreed last night to appoint working groups to draft a recovery plan to keep Kupat Holim Clalit running until the end of the year.

The groups will be asked to come up with a plan within 10 days, the Treasury reported. According to Treasury spokesman Elisheva Braun, the talks were conducted in a very good atmosphere.

Ramon reaffirmed his commitment to meet the Histadrut's financial obligation to Kupat Holim. The Histadrut

owes the government NIS 450 million for a loan it gave the health fund a month ago to tide it over until Ramon would take over. Shohat said the NIS450m. government loan would suffice until the end of the month, although previous reports estimated that there would not be enough money to run the health fund past the first week of July.

The parties decided on a temporary recovery plan for the remainder of the year, since they want to evaluate the impact of the implementation early next year of the National Health Insurance Law on Clalit's finances, Braun reported.

Schach helps found new party: Emet

HERB KEINON

RABBI Eliezer Schach, who created the Shas party in the 1980s, laid the foundations last night for a new Sephardi party to compete with Shas which has long since veered from Schach's path.

Some 4,000 people, mostly Sephardi yeshiva students, jammed Jerusalem Convention Center last night for the founding conference of Emet, the Sephardi Torah Party Organization. The name was chosen by Schach and his close associates, but Shas mentor Rabbi Ovadia Yosef - arguably the leading voice in the Sephardi world - was not invited to the conference.

When Schach stepped into the auditorium the crowd exploded in song, which lasted for five minutes and could have gone on much longer had the master of ceremonies not ordered the crowd quiet.

When there finally was quiet in the hall, everyone expected Schach to give a speech that sources close to him said was going to be "very political." But someone came to the microphone and told the crowd that the rabbi felt faint, and had to go outside for some air. A few minutes later, Rabbi Yehuda Hadas, dean of the Kol Ya'acov yeshiva, said that Schach cried when he saw the large crowd, and wanted to send the organization his blessing, but the rabbi would not be addressing the crowd.

Rabbi Gabriel Toledano, head of Jerusalem's Yeshivat Or Baruch, stirred the crowd with a fiery speech that sharply attacked Shas, without ever once mentioning the party's name. "We cannot understand how a Sephardi haredi party can give its hand and assist in the establishment of a government full of those who hate God," he said.

Toledano, unlike Shas leaders at similar gatherings, tried to minimize the differences between Sephardim and Ashkenazim in the haredi world. He said that Sephardi yeshiva students should not believe the "propaganda" that they are looked down upon by Ashkenazi rabbis or yeshiva heads.

Toledano's words prompted jeering from the balcony, and scuffles erupted between followers of Emet and what appeared to be Shas supporters in the hall. The Shas supporters were ushered out.

SHOT DEAD

(Continued from Page 1)

Committee member MK Dan Tichon (Likud) demanded Shaves immediately resign. "He has no choice but to resign."

"Shaves was not working in a vacuum... Rabin must be made to answer our questions on this subject," said MK Avraham Herschson (Likud).

Committee chairman David Magen (Likud) agreed. The Shaves affair and the issue of the politicization of the police force would come up for discussion again next week, he said.

"We cannot allow to pass unnoticed a uniformed security official not telling the truth to this committee," Magen said, in reference to the comptroller's findings that Turner misled the committee in its original discussion of the matter in April 1993.

Ben-Porat noted that her conclusions came in part from the diary kept by Turner while serving as inspector-general, which he agreed to turn over to her.

Shahal, according to Turner's own notes, did not demand the Deri investigating team be changed, at a meeting between the two at the Herzliya police station in January 1993, the comptroller found.

SHAHAL

(Continued from Page 1)

The comptroller also found that the meeting was not in fact "secret," as Turner had said, because the two openly toured the station beforehand.

With regard to Turner's political ambitions, the comptroller revealed that the former inspector-general told several of his closest associates his thoughts on resigning in order to run for the Tel Aviv mayoralty.

Ben-Porat dismissed Turner's argument that, when he went to meet Labor Party secretary-general Nissim Zvili, he had no idea it was to discuss his chances of being Labor's candidate in Tel Aviv.

Turner had already had discussions about his election possibilities with Labor MK Gideon Saguy, who was on the party team recommending municipal candidates. He also called Shaves prior to the Zvili meeting, apparently to discuss the possibility of his running on the Labor ticket.

The comptroller found that Turner completely misled the committee when he told them last year, after the meeting with Zvili was made public, that he had "no intention at the present to enter political life. I am a serviceman and continue to be one."

SHAHAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Shahal had cautioned Turner about the negative implications of his meeting with Zvili, and was justified in forcing Turner to resign after his plans to turn for run for mayor were made public, the report concluded.

"The facts before us concerning the political meeting with Zvili and the public impression that Turner was willing to be a mayoral candidate for the Labor Party... were enough to cut short his term" as inspector-general, the comptroller wrote.

In response to the report, Turner accused Shahal and others of plotting together to besmirch his name.

"I have learned how difficult it was to fight senior establishment bodies, who are connected to and support each other and who are in positions of power and authority," said Turner yesterday.

He was astounded at the results published in the report, but insisted that "everything that happened stemmed from my unwillingness to disrupt, disturb, and prolong the Deri investigation."

"If I had agreed to do what they requested regarding the Deri investigation - replace the investigating

squad - I would still be police inspector-general and Deri would still be the interior minister," he said.

The nocturnal meeting with Shahal and Avi Dotan at the Herzliya police station, said Turner, was "very urgent and definitely not a routine event, and was designed to conceal information from the public and the press," contrary to Shahal's claims.

Turner complained that many of his claims were not even examined by Ben-Porat, including a leak to ITV reporter Hanan Azran, which he called "tendentious."

In spite of the report's findings, he concluded, he still stands by his version of events.

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Likud chairman MK Binyamin Netanyahu (left) yesterday tells a press conference that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is trying 'to redive Jerusalem,' as MK Moshe Nissim looks on.

High Court: Capital can provide tent city with water and electricity – but nothing else

EVELYN GORDON

THE Jerusalem municipality can continue to supply the tent camps opposite the Prime Minister's Office with water and electricity, but it cannot use city funds to help the demonstrators in any other way, the High Court of Justice said yesterday.

It was ruling on a petition by Moshe Raz, a member of the Citizens Rights Movement's executive council, and Meretz city councilwoman Anat Hoffman.

Raz and Hoffman had charged that Mayor Ehud Olmert and his deputies were using city funds to support the anti-Arafat demonstrations, both by supplying water and electricity to the tent camps and by other, more egregious activities, such as paying for newspaper ads calling on people to come to the demonstrations.

In response, the municipality de-

nied that it had spent any money on the demonstrations except for the basic services supplied to the tent camps. These, it said, were necessary for humanitarian reasons, and it would do as much for demonstrators of any persuasion.

The court accepted this declaration.

"It seems to us that at this stage, there is no argument between the two sides which would be appropriate for this court to hear," wrote Justices Meir Shamgar, Eliezer Goldberg and Michael Cheshin in their verdict.

"Without adopting the detailed position of either one of the parties, it is enough for us that everyone agrees that, except for the humanitarian aid

given by the city to those who legally camp out in public places from time to time (water, lighting, bathrooms, etc.), the municipality is not permitted to contribute its resources to the activities of demonstrators on matters that are the subject of political divisions. We therefore decided to reject the petition."

Hoffman termed the decision a great victory, saying the court's explicit statement was more than she had hoped for.

"I'm delighted," she said. "Now there is a norm. We wanted to set a norm like this, because Arafat will come again. Next time there will be no city money, or city employees... only humanitarian aid. The mayor won't be able to put on a stamp or talk

on the phone... the High Court has given this the force of a verdict."

However, right-wing activists were equally convinced that they had won, thanks to the court's upholding the one thing they consider critical: their right to get basic services from the city.

"All the funds for the past week's [anti-Arafat] activities... came not from city sources, so we don't see that as any loss," said Yehiel Leiter, director of the foreign desk of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. "The only thing we really need are those humanitarian concerns – water, electricity, sewage. Basically, what the left did was set up a paper tiger and then knock it down. What really irks the left is the moral support we're getting from the municipality."

Likud announces campaign 'to uphold integrity of Jerusalem'

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

LIKUD leaders yesterday accused the government of secretly agreeing with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to redive Jerusalem in stages. They warned that Jerusalem is in danger due to the systematic unraveling of Israel's control over it.

Likud chairman Binyamin Netanyahu called on Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin "to stand up with us to prevent the deterioration, or announce that your real intention is to split the city. Then face the public, ask for a mandate, and let the people decide."

After their meeting with Rabin was postponed last week, Netanyahu, Knesset Likud faction chairman Moshe Katsav and MKs Elihu Ben-Elissar and Moshe Nissim called a press conference to present their emergency plan to ensure Israel's continued sovereignty over Jerusalem.

The plan calls for expelling the PLO institutions from the capital, launching massive construction and road building projects, strengthening Jerusalem's economy and industrialization, and building up the areas linking peripheral towns and the capital.

The plan also provides for increasing security in the capital to encourage tourism, particularly visits to the Old City. The plan also affirms free access to holy places and freedom of ritual for all religions.

Netanyahu said the Likud had approached Rabin to discuss the plan three weeks ago, but had been repeatedly ignored or put off. "Rabin has

enough leisure to fly to Paris to talk to Arafat, but does not have the time to talk to the opposition," he said.

"What's happening in Jerusalem is extremely grave," he said. "There is an obvious and clear unraveling of Israel's control of the city. The offices of the PLO are operating as diplomatic institutions, as if they were a foreign ministry. The PLO flag is hoisted on top of Orient House and other places in eastern Jerusalem, and the government isn't lifting a finger."

He charged that Faisal Hussein has set up a shadow Palestinian cabi-

net as well as municipal institutions, and said the government allows Arafat – who has declared he wants to establish the capital of Palestine in Jerusalem – to come to the city, thus giving his political plans legitimacy.

Netanyahu criticized Rabin and other Labor Party leaders for trying to attribute the violent outbursts of the radical right-wing minority to the Likud, although Likud leaders have denounced those responsible. At the same time, he said, "Rabin, who is the leader of the whole nation, is cursing and swearing and comparing the supporters of the national camp – half the people – to Hamas. Rabin is not acting like a prime minister, but like the leader of a marginal group."

The Likud's list of PLO activities

THE Likud has issued a statement entitled, "The PLO is taking over Jerusalem," which lists PLO activities in the capital, including:

- Faisal Hussein's "shadow municipality" to provide for the needs of the Arab population;
- the PLO's request that the US declare its consulate in eastern Jerusalem as its diplomatic body in the Palestinian authority;
- Yasser Arafat's announcement establishing a population registry in eastern Jerusalem called "The Palestinian Statistics Center";
- the PLO's demand that Israel transfer to it control over Atarot Airport;
- a memorandum of cooperation

signed between the PLO and UNESCO in Spain;

- the assumption by Orient House of unofficial "diplomatic immunity," off limits to police and security forces except with special permission;
- Orient House operating as a foreign ministry where Palestinian leaders hold receptions for foreign dignitaries;
- a complaints office in Orient House functioning as a police station, investigating complaints and arresting suspects;
- the PLO making Jerusalem the administrative and editorial focus of the Palestinian television network now being formed. M.Y.

Freij wants Palestinian police in Bethlehem

HAIM SHAPIRO

"I am proud of the efficiency of the Palestinian policemen. They are doing a good job under very difficult conditions," Freij said.

In contrast, he said, there have been virtually no police in Bethlehem since 1988, when the majority of Palestinians quit the police in response to demands from the leaders of the intifada. Since then, he said, there has been no law and order and the courts

have virtually ceased functioning. Freij predicted that by 1995 there would be a million tourists from the Arab countries as a result of the peace he foresees between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The Arab visitors would not want to just visit the Palestinian areas, but would also want to see Israel, he said.

Freij steered clear of any discussion of Jerusalem, saying that bringing up such matters would only encourage extremists.

RABIN

(Continued from Page 1) considerations to take into account in Judea and Samaria.

Rabin said that in talks with Arafat in Paris, agreement had been reached on establishing three committees to advance the negotiations. The Palestinians said there was now increased support for Arafat following his visit to Jericho and Gaza, and they are now willing to show they are not afraid of elections, Rabin said.

The prime minister said Israel is ready to wait a reasonable time to allow Arafat to convene the Palestine National Council in Gaza to abrogate

the section of the PLO Covenant calling for the destruction of Israel.

Asked if there was any consideration being given to freeing Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, Rabin said: "He was sentenced to a long jail term, and for now it is not a matter that is open to negotiations."

Arafat told the two that he intends to convene the PNC in Gaza in the very near future to submit the necessary changes in the covenant. This commitment was included in the joint Palestinian-Israeli statement published yesterday morning at the end of the talks in Paris.

The PLO leader said before leaving Paris that at this stage he was not sure whether Israel will authorize all 500 members of the PNC to enter Gaza. "We still have to discuss this issue," he said, adding that before the PNC meeting, the PLO leadership has to convene the Palestinian Central Council, the political body responsible for organizing the PNC meetings. The Central Council, explained Arafat, will decide on the date of the PNC meeting. Rabin confirmed that Arafat did not notify the Israelis when he plans to convene the PNC in Gaza, "but I'm sure he'll make an effort to do it very soon."

MKs campaign to release all Jewish administrative detainees

RAINE MARCUS

A LOBBY of right-wing MKs is campaigning for the immediate release of all Jewish administrative detainees, currently imprisoned in the Hasharon Prison.

"It is inconceivable that in a democratic country like Israel, Jews can be imprisoned for months without knowing what led to their arrest and without seeing evidence," MK David Mena (Likud) told the *Jerusalem Post* yesterday following a visit to the prison.

Together with fellow MKs Moshe Peled (Tsomet), Yosef Ba-Gad and Rehavam Ze'evi (Molodet) and Avraham Ravitz (United Torah Judaism), Mena visited five administrative detainees. The visit was closed to press. "We have formed a rotation system and will take turns visiting detainees until their release," said Mena.

During the visit, around 20 people waving banners reading "Adminis-

trative detention – political terror," demonstrated outside the prison gates.

According to Mena, detainees Baruch Marzel, Baruch Ben-Yosef, Noam Federman, Shmuel Ben-Ya'acov and Ben-Zion Gopstein are in good spirits but are prepared to do anything requested of them in return for their release.

"They are prepared to be placed under house arrest and will sign a

declaration stating they will refrain from all political activities," said Mena. The five told the party that evidence against them was "trumped up and ridiculous."

The five were arrested on orders from Prime Minister and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin following the Hebron massacre. Each was outlawed after the massacre, and police and security forces rounded up the movement's leaders. Until then, the

powers of administrative detention had been reserved for Arabs from the territories suspected of committing security offenses. However, Mena stressed that the lobby was only campaigning for the release of Jewish detainees.

He said he will meet with Rabin soon to ask him to make administrative detention illegal. "We will also propose an amendment in the law to cancel such detentions," said Mena. "It should be impossible to imprison people on speculation alone."

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Syria's proxy war

THE army will undoubtedly take appropriate military measures to counter the repeated flare-ups of Hizbullah activity in Lebanon. It has managed to keep Hizbullah off-balance by bombing its training camps near the Syrian border, and it will probably continue to keep the initiative on the ground. It may also be able to minimize, through sophisticated engineering and safety techniques, the lethal effects of random Hizbullah shelling on the security belt's observation posts.

But military measures alone will obviously not end hostilities in Lebanon, if for no other reason than that the war is not with Hizbullah, but with Syria. As Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur put it yesterday, Hizbullah can do nothing in Lebanon without Syria's approval.

That Syria is behind the Lebanese mini-war needs no confirmation by military authorities. As even casual observers must have noticed, the ardor of the holy Hizbullah warriors sworn to destroy Israel can be turned on and off with clockwork precision by secularist Damascus.

When Syria wanted quiet before the Lebanese national elections, Hizbullah behaved like an exemplary political party. When the American secretary of state is in Damascus, or Syria's dictator Hafez Assad prepares to meet the US president in Geneva, the quiet on the Lebanese front can be deafening. Conversely, when Syria seems left out of the peace process, or when Israel seems "intransigent" in the negotiations, or when Secretary of State Warren Christopher announces a forthcoming visit, the border war flares up.

It is thus sheer folly to call Hizbullah anything but a Syrian proxy army, an instrument used by Damascus against Israel. The Syrians have allot-

ted areas in the Bekaa Valley for Hizbullah training camps and headquarters. They let shipments of Iranian weapons for Hizbullah go through Damascus Airport, and they supply Hizbullah with advanced weapons, including Sagger missiles — like those fired on an army outpost on Wednesday, in which Lt. Yehuda Algrabi was killed. Syria does not control the logistics of every operation, but it gives the green light for the launching of hostilities.

Until recently, Israel denied Syria's direct involvement with Hizbullah. The government would point to remote Iran as the sole sponsor of the guerrillas, fearing that Syria would withdraw from the peace process if it were named a partner in crime. But for Syria, sponsoring rejectionist terrorist groups and waging a remote-control war while negotiating peace pose neither a moral nor a strategic dilemma. On the contrary. Like all dictators, Assad believes in shooting while negotiating. He hopes, not without reason, that Israel's staying power will be shaken by mounting casualties. And since he can fight to the last Hizbullah recruit with impunity, there is no reason he should stop.

That is why Hizbullah cannot be subdued with military measures alone. To achieve lasting results, Israel must persuade Assad that killing Israelis does not pay. The government's immediate step should be to refuse to discuss with Syria anything other than the cessation of hostilities in Lebanon. Israel is not under external pressure to conclude the negotiations, and it must not let the continuing war in Lebanon create internal pressures. The message Israel should send with Christopher to Damascus later this month must be that substantive negotiations can begin only when Syria orders a total cease-fire in Lebanon.

A pointless war

SINCE the fall of Aden has been inevitable for several weeks, and since the United Nations has expressed concern over the humanitarian situation, it is probably better for all concerned that the city's capture has come sooner rather than later. There is little sign that the victorious North is in a vengeful mood and rapid national reconciliation is one of Sana'a's stated aims, so the end of the war may bring rapid relief to Yemen's civilian population.

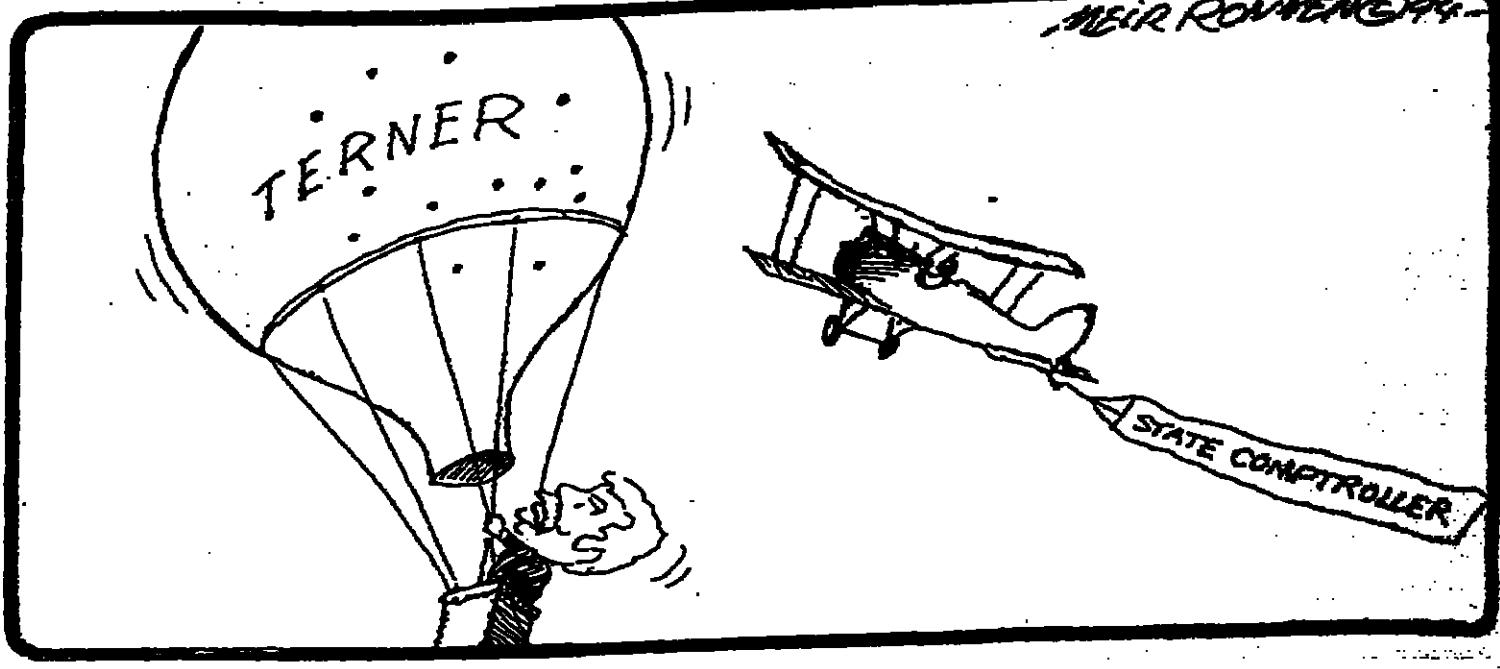
President Ali Abdullah Saleh may not be the most popular of Arab presidents, but he is by no means the worst. He led the two Yemens on the difficult path to unity in 1990 and held elections in an attempt to cement the union and establish a mandated government. It is the formerly-Marxist South, based in Aden, that has been the reluctant partner mainly responsible for the recent war.

Yemen, North and South, has always been a fractious country containing almost every basis imaginable for division — ethnic, tribal, Islamic-secular, Shi'ite-Sunni, left-right, rich-poor. Southern leader Ali Salem al-Beidh became vice-president of the united state, but only three months after last year's elections he boycotted his duties in Sana'a to demand political and military reforms and decentralization — an early attempt to reverse the union, which soon escalated into

armed conflict.

Yet it is clear that to most Yemenis the ideal of union has remained more important than the power struggle between the Northern and Southern leaders. Even the fiercely independent armed northern tribes rallied to support Saleh in the war. Many southerners deserted al-Beidh to move north and support unity. Many of the secular middle classes that once considered the leftist south more progressive than the conservative Islamic North have also realigned with Saleh.

The wounds within the country may heal more rapidly than the strains that have developed with Yemen's neighbors. One of Saleh's great blunders was to support Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War. Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states have traditionally been close allies of the North because of tribal and religious affinity, and were natural enemies of the Marxist, Soviet-supported South. Had Saleh rallied behind the Gulf states over Kuwait, the present war might never have started. Instead, Gulf Arab sympathies, and some material aid, swung behind al-Beidh's rebellion. Al-Beidh may have started the conflict, but had Saleh respected the friendship of the Gulf Arabs and joined the consensus against Iraq's aggression, the Yemenis need never have suffered the war they have just endured, only to get back to square one.



Venom in their mothers' milk

ARIEL SHARON

I object to the epithet "traitor" as applied to Rabin. I find it alien and repulsive. The charge that an Israeli prime minister and defense minister is a "collaborator" of a war criminal who heads a terrorist organization — especially one whose declared goal is the elimination of Israel — is unacceptable. In general, I prefer silent demonstrations which cry out with their silence.

Yet I don't understand the government ministers' bitter tears, their complaints, their savage fury. They, after all, invented these norms into our lives. They are the ones who demonstrated against the government a decade ago, surrounded by placards bearing the slogans, "Begin is a murderer," "Sharon is a murderer," "The government has blood on its hands."

And over what? Over the fact that Christian Arabs killed Moslem Arabs. A grave matter, but one in which not a single Israeli soldier or officer or politician was involved. Puzzling, indeed. For what was unacceptable then is unacceptable now. Which is more offensive, "traitor" or "murderer"?

Current charges of "Jabotinskyian deception" and "Revisionist falsehoods" recall voices of darkness, echoes of those black days of fraternal hatred in our past. Only those reared on venom can use such expressions. Today's young don't even know what it's all about.

Slanders like "... a wicked partnership between the murderers of Hamas and the extreme right wing

in Israel..." or "We have received information about the right wing's intentions to seize control of government buildings," are outrageous.

And the attempt to exclude all but the left from the history of the

MY PARENTS, members of Mapai — the Labor Party of those days — were so riled by that blood libel that they openly voted for the Jabotinsky movement, the left's "enemy." Only those who lived on a moshav or kibbutz in those

I beg the government: Let us not return to the sick indoctrination of the past

defense and liberation of Jerusalem — and I'm not speaking only of one who was seriously wounded in the battle to open the road to Jerusalem — is an obscene libel.

Such slanders from the lips of the prime minister take me back to the distant past, to the incitements of days gone by.

I was five years old in 1933, when Haim Arlosoroff was murdered, and I cannot forget the agonies of those days. It was the eve of fateful elections to the World Zionist Organization, and the large Jewish communities in Europe, especially in Poland, were engaged in a bitter campaign.

Even before the end of the investigation into the murder, the left exploited the tragic event by slandering members of the Revisionist Movement led by Ze'ev Jabotinsky, as if they had murdered Arlosoroff. The left won the election. And the country trembled. Terrible things happened, including killings.

days can understand how much courage this took.

Immediately, my parents suffered severe sanctions. We were ostracized by the moshav for many years. They were years of persecution. But my parents did not yield. And I have yet to tell the whole story.

Is this government pining for those days? Does it want to push us all into civil war? Are they longing for the "sacred cannon" that shelled and killed Jewish brothers on the ship Altalena?

There is something perverse in parts of this nation. There is a sick craving to kiss the hangman's hand, while nurturing the blackest of hatreds for kin. There is a willingness to talk, to make up, with the worst of our enemies, to placate those whom every normal nation would have found legal ways to remove from its path. But there is no such willingness to reconcile with brethren who disagree politically.

How does this government talk about Arafat, and how does it talk about its political adversaries? Not to mention, God forbid, the settlers. Why worship an alien god, especially if he is a sworn enemy of the Jewish people?

Let us not forget that those who have turned themselves into Arafat's lackeys are the spiritual descendants of Stalin's slaves. "The peoples' sun," they called him, even as he was mounting the bitterest persecutions against Jews, even as, and especially when, he was blood-lusting Jewish doctors, artists and writers.

The hatred members of this government have for this era's true pioneers, the Jewish settlers in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, who hold the last line of defense against the danger of retreat to the 1948 lines, is infinite.

Could one imagine their bug-ging and kissing a settler, especially if he is religious, the way they do their new PLO allies? They would repel the very idea with revulsion.

I have witnessed the complicated relationships between right and left from both sides of the fence. The sick indoctrination with hatred is mainly on the left. But it is in the nature of such things that, ultimately, they elicit a like response.

I appeal to the government: Stop now. Do not cross the line. Do not bring back that contaminated fire. Do not bring back that hatred.

The writer, a Likud MK, is a former defense minister.

Peres feels a need to prove himself

MOSHE ZAK

EGYPTIAN Foreign Minister Amr Moussa didn't know it, but his phone call to Israel last Thursday spared the government profound embarrassment.

Yitzhak Rabin was at that moment facing either a government crisis or the embarrassment of having to renege on his deal with Yasser Arafat about the date of the PLO leader's visit to Gaza.

While Arafat had originally wanted to come on Friday, Rabin suggested that he arrive on Saturday in order to reduce friction with knitted-kippa wearers, who wouldn't demonstrate on Shabbat.

But Shas mentor Rabbi Ovadia Yosef intervened, insisting that Shabbat not be massively desecrated by Israeli security forces mobilized to safeguard Arafat's visit.

To Rabin's great relief, the Egyptian foreign minister called to suggest a change in the time of Arafat's arrival in Gaza to Friday afternoon.

President Mubarak, it seems, needed to have Arafat leave Cairo on Friday so he could receive the president of Algeria.

This inadvertent Egyptian assistance in solving an internal Israeli crisis wasn't necessarily the reason that the government allowed an Egyptian helicopter to fly Arafat through Israeli airspace.

But the precedent of establishing more and more Egyptian trusteeship over the new Palestinian Authority needs some thought.

The increasing dependency of the self-governing authority on Egypt is not just arousing Jordani-

an King Hussein's jealousy: it could also act as a chronic source of friction between Jerusalem and Cairo, tarnishing the peace between them.

(Hussein's grandfather Abdullah once told Israeli negotiator Eliahu Sasson: "Give Gaza to the devil, take it yourselves, just don't

ministers' conference Moussa convened in Egypt this week.

France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Spain, Portugal and Cyprus all sent their foreign ministers to the conference. But Israel wasn't invited.

Foreign Minister Peres protested the boycott to the Egyptian

The Rabin-Ramón partnership could put his nose out of joint

hand it over to the Egyptians!")

RABIN DID well not to accept the suggestion for a tripartite meeting at Rafiah, with Egyptian participation, to discuss the details of Arafat's visit and prepare an agenda for this week's Israeli-PLO meeting in Paris.

While it cannot be denied that Egypt played an important conciliatory role in the Cairo talks between Rabin and Arafat, that was before the establishment of the Palestinian Authority. Now the rules of the game have changed. The authority has to discuss things directly with Israel, without outside pressure or interference.

Egypt's government assumed that because it had contributed to the negotiations on setting up the Palestinian Authority, Israel's foreign minister would swallow the grievous insult of being excluded from the Mediterranean foreign

authorities. Egypt and the other participating countries weren't just harming Peres personally, but the peace, after Peres's great efforts to show Israelis that a new dawn was breaking over Middle Eastern skies.

And now, here comes the first test outside the multilateral talks mandated by the Madrid conference, and everything's back to what it was before: the Mediterranean Conference is out of bounds to Israel.

Under these circumstances, Peres had no choice other than to seek a substitute in visits to Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. In the course of time, his visits to these Asian countries, formerly part of the USSR, will probably yield results.

But Peres was striving for dramatic breakthroughs with visible changes now. This week, Egypt denied him that.

Henry Kissinger, who presented UNESCO awards to Rabin, Peres and Arafat in Paris this week, once said that Israel had no foreign policy, only a domestic one. But this isn't an exclusively Israeli phenomenon; larger countries' foreign policies are also guided by internal considerations. In Israel's case, it's simply more so.

This being the case, it's difficult to ignore the fact that Peres made his Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan visits just when Haidarut control was being passed from Labor's hands into Haim Ramon's.

SOME PEOPLE are saying that Peres is less disturbed by the Haidarut changeover than by Rabin's rapprochement and partnership with Ramon, which could spill over into the government arena.

Peres is experienced enough to voice this reservation publicly, or even in limited forums.

But the sense that he might one day be pushed out by the Rabin-Ramón partnership will force him to resort to defensive measures. To display his prominent role in the political process, he may need to take his own initiative in the talks with Syria, or with the Palestinians.

The renewal of rivalry between the Prime Minister's Office and the Foreign Ministry in talks with Israel's neighbors is a recipe that may yield a sour mess of potage in the negotiations later this month.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on current affairs.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

OFFENSIVE ARTICLE

Sir, — We were horrified that the editors of a usually responsible and respected newspaper could allow the publication of Levy Cohen's article on how to assassinate Yasser Arafat in *The Jerusalem Post* of June 24. While obviously written tongue-in-cheek and intended to be humorous, the piece declares open "hunting season" on a public personality.

Our protest does not reflect conflicting political views on the current relationship with the Palestinians or the character of their leader. It is about public morality and media responsibility. In the volatile atmosphere prevailing in Israel and its neighborhood, such an article — and the accompanying graphics — is in execrable taste at best, and dangerously incendiary at worst.

MIKE AND JILL ROGOFF
Jerusalem.

The following clarification was published by *The Jerusalem Post* on June 27:

"The weekly *In Jerusalem*, distributed by *The Jerusalem Post* in the Jerusalem area, is an advertising supplement that operates independently and is distributed free of charge. But its linkage to the public's perception with *The Jerusalem Post* obliges us to publicly dissociate the *Post* from a column in last Friday's issue titled 'Killing Yasser'."

"Although intended as a satire, the article was in extremely bad taste. Our apologies to readers who were offended, as we were."

FUNNY SATIRE

Sir, — Yasser Arafat is a mass murderer. Most Jews want to see him dead. Writing a satire about killing Arafat is bitterly funny and very appropriate.

Mr. Levy Cohen should be praised rather than condemned for his timely article.

NADIA MATAR
Israel.

IMPRESSIVE ARTICLES

Sir, — I am a Zionist and a Holocaust survivor and a reader of *The Jerusalem Post*. I was very impressed to read an article a few months ago about Arab Christians and again by the same author, Stan Goodenough, "The stark reality of Jerusalem" on June 24.

It was a pleasure for me and my family to read this article by Mr. Goodenough, who mentions that he is a Christian, especially in view of biased reporting against Israel and Jerusalem in the general media. It is also refreshing to read his clear-eyed view of the whole situation at this very perilous political time, when many people in government and elsewhere are blinded to the danger we are in because of this so-called peace process.

Please accept my respect and admiration for publishing this article.

DORIAN BROWN
Jerusalem (New York).

WORDS CAN WOUND
Sir, — So, Mr. Rabin, the demagogues' demagogue, is finally finding out that words can wound and hurt.

For the best part of the last two years, Mr. Rabin has lost no opportunity to taunt the Jews of Yeshua and the Golan. He has sought to delegitimize, demonize and demoralize people already living under years of pressure from the intifada, and has caused no small measure of groundless hatred in the process.

Now Mr. Rabin is complaining because he is on the receiving end of the taunts and insults.

My advice to Mr. Rabin is simply this. If the heat is too hot in the proverbial kitchen, either get out or stop dishing out the despicable fare that you are not prepared to eat yourself.

BEVERLY UNGAR
Tel Aviv.

INCITEMENT

Sir, — Let me get this straight. MK Ron Nachman, Mayor of Ariel, a flourishing city in Samaria where hundreds of families live, who are far from all being "extremist right-wing fanatics" and certainly not all religious, tries to assuage the concerns of over 100,000 people who want to be assured that there is no way we will allow terrorist PLO leader Yasser Arafat to set foot in Israel's capital, Jerusalem. Virtually all government members consider this incitement and near-illegal subversion.

But, when an Arab MK is shown on Israeli TV meeting Arafat in Gaza with a large group of Israeli Arabs and explains proudly that when the intifada started, then defense minister Rabin said it wouldn't last more than a month, but Arafat had declared then and kept his promise that it would last until "his people" (the MK's words) achieved their independence in Palestine, well, that is not considered incitement.

Isn't there some hypocrisy here? Who is living according to double standards? Who are the real Zionists and who are the inciters? Perhaps members of the Rabin government should re-evaluate their definitions.

ADINA MISHKOFF
Jerusalem.

UNIQUELY JEWISH

Sir, — It is perhaps not remarkable that Yasser Arafat should, upon his arrival in Gaza, invoke the name of the most influential person this land has ever seen: Jesus.

Yet his attempt to buttress the Arab claim to sovereignty in Jerusalem with the erroneous statement that "Jesus was born there" cannot pass without comment.

Jesus — born in Bethlehem, according to the gospels — was by all accounts a devout Jew, as were his first followers. His association with Jerusalem serves only to underscore its uniquely Jewish history.

JONATHAN MILES,
Christian Friends of Israel
Jerusalem.

Evidence of one's eyes

YOSEF GOELL

EXACTLY two years ago, when he took over as prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin began his approach to Syria's Hafez Assad by promising a vaguely defined but far-reaching withdrawal from the Golan in exchange for peace.

At home, he spoke of the need for a territorial compromise with Syria, but declared his adamant opposition to an Israeli "descent from the Golan Heights."

To date, Assad has bought nothing short of an Israeli commitment to total withdrawal from every last centimeter of the Golan as a precondition for even agreeing to talk about a vaguely defined "peace."

In recent weeks, Rabin seems to have bought Assad's message that the Golan is a case of all or nothing. He also seems to have begun his fight to win over Israeli public opinion, by asserting that a failure to conclude peace with Syria could very well mean an invitation to war in seven years, or so.

A visit to the Golan this week convinced me that the persistent Assad and the apparently newly converted Rabin are both right. The Golan is a matter of all or nothing.

But the conclusion I came to after that visit was very different from Rabin's. I concluded that there is no room for any meaningful territorial compromise on the Golan.

Either the military and political advantages of an agreement with Syria will be so favorable to Israel as to justify the risk of abandoning the entire Golan; or, more likely, the dangers inherent in retreat will be so great as to justify our taking our chances with a belligerent Syria led by whoever succeeds the ailing Syrian dictator.

The "entire" Golan Heights is, in actuality, a tiny area. Its width, which provides Israel with strategic depth, is between 15 km. in the north and 20 km. in the south. North to south, it stretches about 70 km. from the heights of Mt. Hermon to the Hamat Gader hot springs.

Nearly all the defensive and offensive advantages the Golan confers on Israel are on the eastern rim of the area, along the current cease-fire lines with Syria. Of these, our offensive advantage, a proven deterrent against war, is by far the more important. Any partial territorial compromise — which Assad refuses to hear of — would entail giving up those advantages.

Anyone who lived through the 1950s and '60s and the Six Day War, when the Syrian artillery sat right above us on the Heights, can understand the critical defensive advantage of our being up on

top, rather than the Syrians.

This understanding was further underscored during the Yom Kippur War, when a heroic tank brigade on top of the Heights stanch the Syrians' initial massive armored breakthrough. Had it not been there, the Israeli response would have had to come from the heart of Galilee or outside Haifa.

I went and looked, and concluded that there is no room for any meaningful territorial compromise on the Golan

This kind of strategic advantage would be unnecessary if we had peace with Syria, the kind that exists between the US and Canada, in which Canada needn't fear an American bombardment of Montreal.

Sadly, even a heretic like myself can attest with certainty that the messiah will come before any such a peace reigns here.

THERE IS another crucial advantage to our being on the Golan. Our intelligence, located on the top of Mt. Hermon and the strategic mountaintops of Avital and Bental, can see deep into Syria, and even as far as Iraq. Those vantage points are very close to the present cease-fire lines, and any territorial compromise would mean giving them up.

The presence of our forces on the Golan, only 60 km. from Damascus, explains why our border with Syria has been the quietest of all our borders during the past 20 years — more than the one with Egypt, with whom we have a formal peace agreement, or with Jordan, with whom we have an even warmer and more effective de facto peace.

There is another point, which is hardly ever whispered.

One of the few things we can predict about Syria is that when Assad dies, there will be no orderly succession, especially after the death of his son, Hafez, in 1993.

In the subsequent murderous battle for the succession, one of the factions might well go so far as to try and get the Zionist devil, Israel, to intervene on its behalf.

The mere threat of an Israeli military intervention might do the trick, as it did when we defended Jordan's King Hussein in 1970 from a Syrian invasion.

This would be Israeli integration with a vengeance into the Arab Middle East, as many of our left-wing propagandists recommend.

At such a point, it would be highly desirable for our tank and artillery forces to be on the present front lines, rather than down in the Hula Valley.

THIS WEEK'S Golan tour was interesting in another sense. It indicated an awakening of frenetic activity among Labor Party hawks, who have lain dormant since last September when their ostensible leader, Yitzhak Rabin, unveiled the Oslo Agreement.

I reported several weeks ago on the emergence of a Third Way group, mainly Labor, but also including people from Y'ud, religious leaders like Rabbi Amichai Meimad, and even some Likudniks.

Our tour was organized by a new faction headed by Economics Minister Shimon Shetret, and including MKs Avigdor Kahalani, Yoram Lass and Emanuel Zisman. The group, politically hawkish and socially and economically leftist, organized a similar tour in the Greater Jerusalem area and is planning one of the Jordan Rift Valley next month.

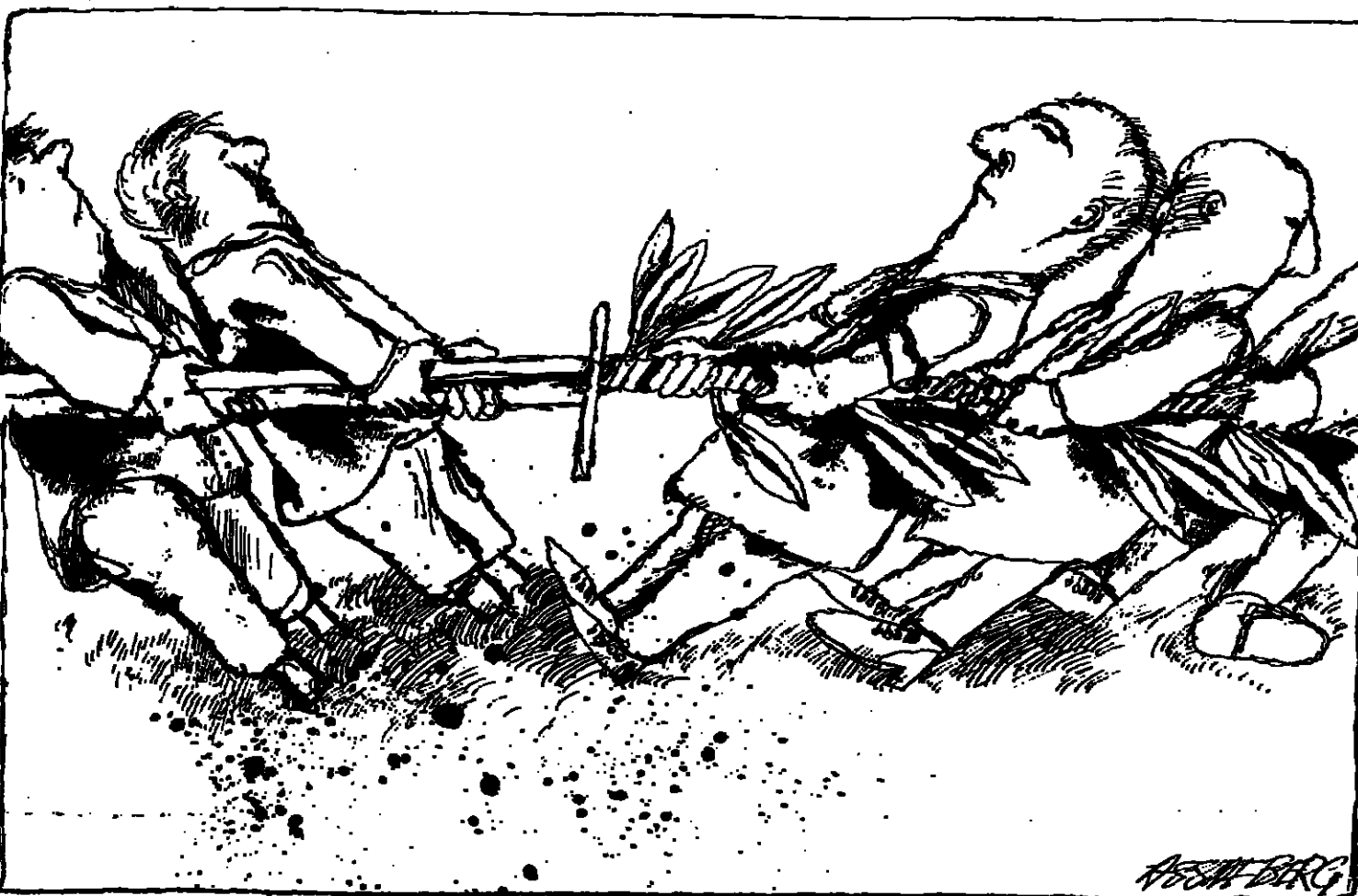
The takeover in the Histadrut by the political doves and socially right-wing yuppies around Haim Ramon and Meretz might speed the further crystallization of this forum and all it might imply for the eventual disintegration of the Labor Party.

These people were Rabin's natural constituency in the party. Speaking to many of them on the six-hour bus trip to and from the Golan, it became clear that while they would never dream of calling Rabin "traitor," they can no longer be counted as his blind followers — certainly not on the Golan issue.

Kahalani, hero of the 77th Armored battalion's stanching of the Syrian advance in 1973 and head of the Knesset Golan lobby, has been asserting far and wide that he will never go along with "any decision that would give the Golan to the Syrians."

Should Kahalani and the other hawkish Labor MKs get around to declaring they will work actively to defeat such a proposal, it will become clear that there isn't the slightest chance of Israel's being foolish enough to give up the Golan. No referendum will be needed.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on current affairs.



Timely warning from the premier

TEDDY PREUSS

UP until Yom Kippur 1973, we were forced to fight a war every decade. Ben-Gurion was of the view that the Arabs hadn't the strength to fight more than once in 10 years.

That being said, if no new war erupts by October 6, 21 years will have passed without an Arab-initiated encounter on the battlefield.

The Arabs can't really be blamed for the Lebanon war in the 1980s, and Yitzhak Shamir wasn't altogether accurate when he said, as premier, that "the Arabs are still the same as ever."

Then along came Yitzhak Rabin last month, warning that if we don't resolve our conflict with the Syrians in three to seven years, we could find ourselves fighting another war. This shocked Israelis, who have felt secure from hostilities since Anwar Sadat's pledge of "no more war."

And yet Rabin's warning wasn't out of place. Even though the peace with Egypt is firm, the intifada has subsided and we have de facto peace with Jordan, the situation with Syria is troubling. In the event of a deterioration in the north, who can guarantee that other Arab states won't change their stand and support — even help — sister Syria?

For years, Israel's "national camp" has argued that peace agreements are merely "pieces of paper." Thus what we're hearing from them now is surprising — that

the premier is weakening us by his warnings, inviting the enemy to attack.

If "the Arabs are still the same as ever," that camp should be breathing a sigh of relief that the premier is shedding his illusions, that he finally understands the danger surrounding us.

But the reverse is happening.

havam Ze'evi and Rafael Eitan, the settlers and the right are now describing Rabin.

THE SETTLERS and their patrons explain that our presence on the current borders is what has given us 21 years of non-belligerency. Our fortifications there and in border settlements are our

Rabin the realist realizes that Syria might decide to use its military option

Rabin, who warns that the Arabs could indeed go back to being what they were, isn't portrayed as a realist, but as a kind of Cassandra figure, weakening our position and prophesying doom. Is that really the case?

In August 1973, a few weeks before the war, defense minister Moshe Dayan promised us a decade of peace. And Maj.-Gen. Ariel Sharon asserted we were all-powerful in the same league as Britain and France. The prevailing view in both the government and the opposition was that the Arabs had "no military option."

The few who thought otherwise were denounced as foolish and/or "yellow," not unlike the way Re-

fore saw. But they cannot guarantee what we may expect for the next 19 years. (Menachem Begin spoke of "the land being tranquil for 40 years.")

If we want another 20 years or more of non-belligerency, we must plan as we did after the Yom Kippur War. We must have disengagement-of-forces and interim agreements, culminating in peace treaties with our neighbors.

Had we taken no steps toward peace since 1973, had we left the status quo intact, we would have celebrated another victory or two by now. And to hell with the price.

Declarations about the Arabs being "the same as ever" could leave us facing a similar scenario if we do nothing to change them. Shamir took a step in the right direction when he went to Madrid. His successors have continued along that course, and even widened it.

If we don't find the possibilities — which, despite the efforts of the Syrians and the Israeli opposition, still exist — there will be war, as Rabin has predicted.

Unlike the political talk in 1973, the premier isn't deceiving us that, even though the Arabs are different, they could still launch another war.

The writer is a senior journalist with Davar.

A bundle of last straws

EMIL FACKENHEIM

WHEN Yasser Arafat made his notorious jihad speech in South Africa in May, even the normally hostile British press was sympathetic to us. However, it pooh-poohed attacks on the PLO chief by "right-wingers" such as Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu. The Guardian went so far as to call such attacks "hysterical."

Clearly, there was only one Israeli they would have taken seriously. But the prime minister of Israel let Arafat down.

Yitzhak Rabin's reaction was feeble in the extreme. It made me want to write an article entitled "The Last Straw." But I made the mistake of waiting.

Even people inclined to go along with the Oslo Accord must have been disturbed all along by the fact that Israelis were never given a chance to vote for or against it.

Then the government lied about Foreign Minister Peres's Norwegian letter on Jerusalem, the one Arafat referred to — and yet Peres was not forced to resign. If the government can lie to its own people about Jerusalem, it will lie to them about anything. Surely this was really the last straw.

I should have written my article then. But again, I made the

mistake of waiting.

For then came Yitzhak Rabin's speech advising Israelis to make peace — quick, quick — with Syria. Let there be war. It was an ingenious way of pushing Israel into maximum concessions and the

Every time I think our leaders have committed the ultimate folly, worse follows

Syrian enemy into maximum intransigence.

One hates to bring it up again, but the last time this happened was Neville Chamberlain at Munich.

Again I waited, and again it was a mistake. For now we have the invitation to Arafat — once security arrangements are made — to visit al-Aksa mosque, as if his purpose was to worship in Jerusalem and not to conquer it.

Isn't there anyone left up there

with a brain?

Obviously not. On the day of Arafat's triumphant entry into Gaza — the media event of the year, with Israeli-Arab history being rewritten, PLO-style, by the BBC and CNN — Peres went on record in *The Jerusalem Post* as being happy because the Gazans were happy; as if their happiness was the purpose of this carefully plotted political effort!

As for Arafat and Jerusalem, all this government can do is repeat, parrot-like, that the city is the indivisible capital of Israel. When Israel annexed Jerusalem in 1967, the UN General Assembly denounced the decision by a vote of 99 to 0. Will the world react any differently in 1994 to Rabin's or Peres's reaffirmations?

What will this government do when the nice Western countries reach an agreement with nice-sounding Moslem ones on how to redive Jerusalem? Judging by its record on political intelligence — or is it political stamina? — nobody in it has the slightest idea.

What, I wonder, will the very last straw be?

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ABU TOR, 6, breathtaking view, parking, unfurnished, immediate, long-term, \$1,200, Ambassador 02-618101.

BAKA, 3 + GARDEN, private entrance + garden, luxurious, from August, \$900, 02-733973.

MA'ALOT MORIAH, 5 1/2, furnished, garden, view, for one year, \$1100 (monthly) 02-721673 (NS).

ABU TOR, 4 rooms, partially furnished, \$800; 6 rooms, fully furnished, \$1500, immediately, Abu Tor 02-734207.

HAR NOF, 4, 3RD FLOOR + elevator, telephone, view, for year + option, 02-973225.

REHAVIA, 3, SPECIAL, fully furnished, \$800, August, for year plus, 02-631896.

ARNOVA, 4 rooms, luxury house, \$1,000; Gilo, cottage, 4 rooms, fully furnished, immediately, Abu Tor 02-734207.

MUSHRARA, CHARMING 2 1/2 rooms, furnished, equipped, from August, 02-731512, NS.

TCHERNICHOVSKY, 4 ROOMS, unfurnished, Information: Friedman 07-460751.

MA'ALOT DAFNA (MAHAL ST.), 4 1/2 ROOMS, for year, well-equipped, \$300, 02-818441.

VILLA, RAMAT ESHKOL, 7 rooms, furnished, garden, immediate, year contract, \$1,000, 02-818971.

REHAVIA, spacious 7 room penthouse, enormous balcony, magnificent view, furnished, unfurnished, long term, aFax 02-618376.

LOVELY 3, with roof, for period of 6 months or more, 02-789358, 03-540670.

EIN KAREM, luxurious, secluded villa, 5 1/2, on huge plot, view to forest, unfurnished, August, for year, well-equipped, \$1,000, Anglo Saxon (Maiden) 02-251161.

OLD KATAMON, cottage, 4 1/2, new, luxurious terrace, completely furnished, \$1700, Anglo Saxon (Maiden) 02-251161.

BEIT HAKEREM, 5, 3rd floor, elevator, completely furnished, master bedroom, \$2000, Anglo Saxon (Maiden) 02-251161.

TALBIEH, 3 1/2 LARGE ROOMS, unfurnished, from Sept 1, view to the East, 02-630627, 04-836761.

BAKA, CHARMING, SPACIOUS, quiet, 2-3 bedrooms, unfurnished, garden, terrace, 2 years, \$1100, 02-714166.

SPEND TIME IN JERUSALEM, Yemin Moshe, unique, 3, furnished, terrace, with view, 3-6 months, \$2000, Ambassador, 02-618101.

MAOZ ZION, NEW COTTAGE, for 2 years, 5 1/2, unfurnished, garden, view, 02-33018.

BEIT HAKEREM, 4, LUXURIOUS, 2 years, furnished, balconies, solar heater, \$900, 02-410658.

KEREM HAYESOD, 2, furnished, quiet, comfortable, long-term, 02-610259.

EAST TALPIOT, 3 room apartment, near U.N., 02-421184 (NS).

SHAAREI HESED - REHAVIA, modern luxurious duplex, 4 bedrooms, glatt, for August, Tel. 02-682218.

OLD KATAMON, 4, fully furnished, from August, one year, Kosher only, 02-83247.

REHAVIA, 5, newly furnished, ABU TOR, 4, luxury, view, Baka, 4, luxury, unfurnished, Corinna Diner 02-733385.

EIN KAREM, villa to share, view, furnished, garden, \$350, 02-437411.

IMMEDIATELY EAST TALPIOT, 4, in stepped construction area, furnished, balcony, year, parking, Moriah Realty 02-717888.

GESHER HACHAIM, RELIGIOUS, 2 1/2, furnished, balcony, summer or yearly, 02-419718, 03-5780425 (NS).

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HAR NOF, CHAI TAIB, victor's suite, charming, separate entrance, 1 bedroom, kitchenette, garden, 02-511478 (NS).

TALBIEH, 2, furnished, from August 15; KIRYAT SHMUEL, 4, partially furnished, elevator, Adam Ubelio 02-638285.

BAKA, Arab, 4 large + garden, special. Keys at klan 02-734834.

BAKA, Arab, 5 stylized, garden, private entrance. Keys at klan 02-734834.

REHAVIA/TALBIEH fully furnished 3/4 room, excellent location, summer, 02-830445.

OLD KATAMON, 5, second floor, elevator, suiza balcony, quiet, Capital 02-680111.

BORDER TALBIEH, 7, Arab, private entrance, garden, quiet, Capital, 02-860111.

EIN KAREM, house, 6 rooms, beautiful, large garden, view, Lily Lewi 02-788745.

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REHAVIA, 3, GROUND FLOOR, NEW, European standard, furnished + jacuzzi + porch, 02-834116.

EMERK REFAIM, 3, FURNISHED, garden, ground floor, well-lit, quiet, renovated, \$850, 02-636430.

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FULL TIME experienced Junior Secretary. Knowledge of English/typing. = 03-5752163.

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RELIGIOUS SERVICES

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Shabbat begins	Shabbat ends
Jerusalem 7:11 p.m.	8:31 p.m.
Tel Aviv 7:29 p.m.	8:33 p.m.
Haifa 7:23 p.m.	8:34 p.m.
BeerSheva 7:26 p.m.	8:33 p.m.
Eilat 7:21 p.m.	8:27 p.m.

Tora portion: Mato/Masici

JERUSALEM

MORESHET YISRAEL - Conservative 4 Agron. Dr. Avraham Feder, Rabbi. Fri. Mincha 8:30. Sat. Shabbat 8:30. Mincha 6:30. Shur 7:15. Daily at 7:00 a.m.

HAR-EL SYNAGOGUE (Progressive) 16 Shmuel Hanagel, Tel. 02-253841. Friday evening 8:30. Shabbat morning: 9:30. Rabbi Yosef Ben-Chorin.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, 13 King Da-

vid St. Shabbat morning service, 9:30 a.m.

CHRISTIAN

JERUSALEM REDEEMER CHURCH (Lutheran), Maristan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday service: 10:00 a.m. German 10:30 a.m. Tel. 894750, 261049.

BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem. Saturday Bible study 9:00 a.m., worship service 10:30 a.m. 255942.

ST. PAUL'S (Pentecostal), 32 Shvivi Yisrael. 7:00 p.m. Saturday. Tel. 02-717988.

KING OF KINGS ASSEMBLY, YMCA Auditorium, 26 King David St. Tel. 610017. Sunday, 8 a.m.

PENTECOSTAL WORSHIP SERVICE, MT. ZION FELLOWSHIP, 7:30 p.m. Fri., Sat.

Sun. Tel. 02-828964.

TEL AVIV

IMMANUEL CHURCH (Lutheran), Tel Aviv-Yafo, 15 Rehov Beer Holman (near 17 Rehov Eilat) Tel. 820854. Saturday service 11 a.m. Service in English every Sunday at 10 a.m.

HAIFA

BET ELIAHU (Evangelical Messianic Congregation) Haifa, 43 Meir Street, Tel. 04-835881. Sat. service 11 a.m.

OTHER CENTERS

BAPTIST VILLAGE CONGREGATION, 3 km. north of Petah Tikva, near Yarkon Junction. Sabbath Bible study Saturday 9:45 a.m. Worship hour, 10:45 a.m. Tel. 09-574681.

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ORT. To visit our technological High Schools, call Jerusalem 613141; Tel Aviv 5203222, 5203293; Netanya 823744.

WIZO. To visit our projects call Tel Aviv 6923619; Jerusalem 250600; Haifa 388817.

HAIFA

WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-374253.

ARTGUIDE

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JERUSALEM

Museums

OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM. Life in the Jewish Community in the Old City, mid-19th century - World War II. 6 Or Haimim, Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun-Thur. 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

TEL AVIV

Museums

TEL AVIV MUSEUM OF ART. The Story of Masada/Alessi - For the Sale of Use/Photography at the Bauhaus/David Reeb: Paintings 1982-94/18th-19th Cent. Europe.

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HAIFA

Museums

THE REUBEN AND EDITH HECHT MUSEUM (Haifa University). Permanent exhibition: The People of Israel in Eretz Yisrael - 4700 BC. Exhibitions on the Northern Coast of Israel in the Biblical Period/Impressionism and the Jewish School of Paris (sculpture by Modigliani, Monet, Picasso, Soutine, Strindberg and others). Oswald Adler, Oil Paintings, Watercolors and Graphic Works/Purely Broken Out in Israel - Stone Vessels of the late Second Temple period. Open Sun-Thur. 10-4, Fri. 10-1. Sat. 10-2. ADMISSION FREE.

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HAIFA

WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-374253.

GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Friday, July 8

Jerusalem: Kupat Holim Clinic, Straus A, 3 Avigdor, 706600; Baitam, Salah =

FIFA gives Leonardo four-match suspension

DALLAS - Brazilian defender Leonardo was suspended Wednesday for four games for throwing an elbow at a Dutch player during a World Cup match.

Tab Ramos of the USA team to the hospital with a fractured skull.

It was the longest suspension in recent memory imposed at a World Cup and means Brazil will be without one of its starting players for the rest of the tournament, even if it reaches the July 17 final.

The disciplinary committee of

FIFA said Leonardo was suspended "for violence against another player" and fined \$10,000 (NIS 24,000).

Because of the length of the suspension, which will roll over to international games if Brazil doesn't reach the final, it can be appealed.

Brazil next plays in the quarter-finals against the Netherlands tomorrow.

In other World Cup news, the Mexican and Syrian referees who came under heavy criticism for their handling of Tuesday's second-round matches were not named to officiate in the quarter-finals when FIFA made its selections.

FIFA left out Mexican Arturo Brizola, who sent off Italy's Gianfranco Zola for an innocuous tackle in the match with Nigeria, and Jamal Sharif of Syria, who showed red cards to a Bulgarian and a Mexican in the day's other game.

In the continuing saga of Diego Maradona, Argentina's fallen soccer idol arrived home, telling his fans that he is the only one to blame for his scandal-tainted dismissal from the World Cup.

World Cup at a Glance

Quarter-finals

Tomorrow's games:

Italy-Spain 19:00 (Foxboro)

Brazil-Netherlands 22:30 (Dallas)

SPORTS BRIEFS

Minali upsets sprinters to win Tour stage

Outside Nicola Minali upset the speed kings to take the fifth stage of the Tour de France yesterday. Minali, 24, best experienced German Olaf Ludwig of Germany into second place in a massive sprint which ended the last of two stages in England.

Italian Silvio Martinello took third place in a relatively undemanding, 187-kilometer ride around Portsmouth, which allowed Italian Flavio Vanzella to retain the race leader's yellow jersey.

Race favorites Miguel Indurain of Spain and Tony Rominger of

Ewing has knee surgery

New York Knicks All-Star center Patrick Ewing underwent a successful arthroscopy on his right knee Wednesday, the team announced. The surgery was performed by Knicks team physician Dr. Norman Scott, to clean out loose cartilage.

The 2.1-meter Ewing will rehabilitate the knee for 6-8 weeks, and begin recovering with stretching exercises, swimming and biking.

NBA to open regular season in Japan

The National Basketball Association said the Los Angeles Clippers and Portland Trail Blazers will open the 1994-95 regular season with two games in Japan on November 5 and 6 at Yokohama Arena.

Bears Neal Anderson calling it quits

Saying his heart is no longer in the game, Neal Anderson, the Chicago Bears' second career leading rusher, is calling it quits, the Chicago Tribune reported yesterday. Anderson, an unrestricted free agent the Bears decided not to re-sign, announced his retirement after eight seasons, according to the Tribune. He'll be 30 next month.

The Hadassah-Wizo-Canada Research Institute and the International Center for the Enhancement of Learning Potential extend a hearty Mazel Tov to the Co-chairman of our Founding Members, Mr. Myer and Joyce Deltcher and Jordan and Enid Deltcher upon the birth of their grandson and son.

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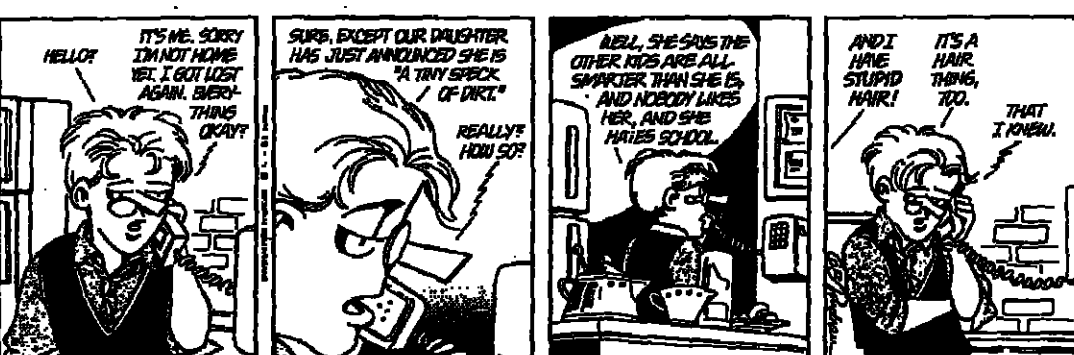
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BY GARRY TRUDEAU



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- The Arts and Entertainment pages feature Dora Sowden's internationally acclaimed dance reviews; Naomi Doukhal's drama critiques; concert roundups by Benjamin Bar-Am and Uri Epstein; Tower Records' Top 15; new audio releases by Tizrah Agassi.

ON WEDNESDAYS:

- The Middle East page, brings you an Arab news digest, articles on and by Israel's neighbors.

ON THURSDAYS:

- The Post's "agony aunt" Ruth Blum answers readers' questions. Other regular columns include Travel tips, Life-style, Flair, Off the shelf, Bargain basement and Books.

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Beilin to attend talks in Tunisia

Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin is to leave Sunday for Tunis to participate in talks of the multilateral steering committee, being held for the first time in an Arab country. The talks are to begin on Tuesday in the resort town of Tabarka, some 200 kilometers west of the capital. In this sixth round of talks, the committee is to hear reports by working groups on water, environment, refugees, and economic development.

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Sneh to sign ban on work-place smoking next week

JUDY SIEGEL

HEALTH Minister Ephraim Sneh will finally sign the amendment to ban smoking in the country's 60,000 work places, except for special closed smoking rooms.

The amendment, to be signed "early next week," will go into effect in three months for a period of one year. Afterwards, its influence will be assessed by the committee. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had refused to sign the amendment into

law when he was acting health minister, explaining that as a heavy smoker he would feel "hypocritical" about doing so.

The momentous change to the 1984 law that barred smoking in certain public places was approved unanimously in February by the labor and social affairs committee, headed by Labor MK Amir Peretz. Since it merely added "work places" to the list of 14 public places where smoking

is already prohibited - including taxis, cinemas, sports halls, schools and elevators - a vote of the Knesset plenum was not required.

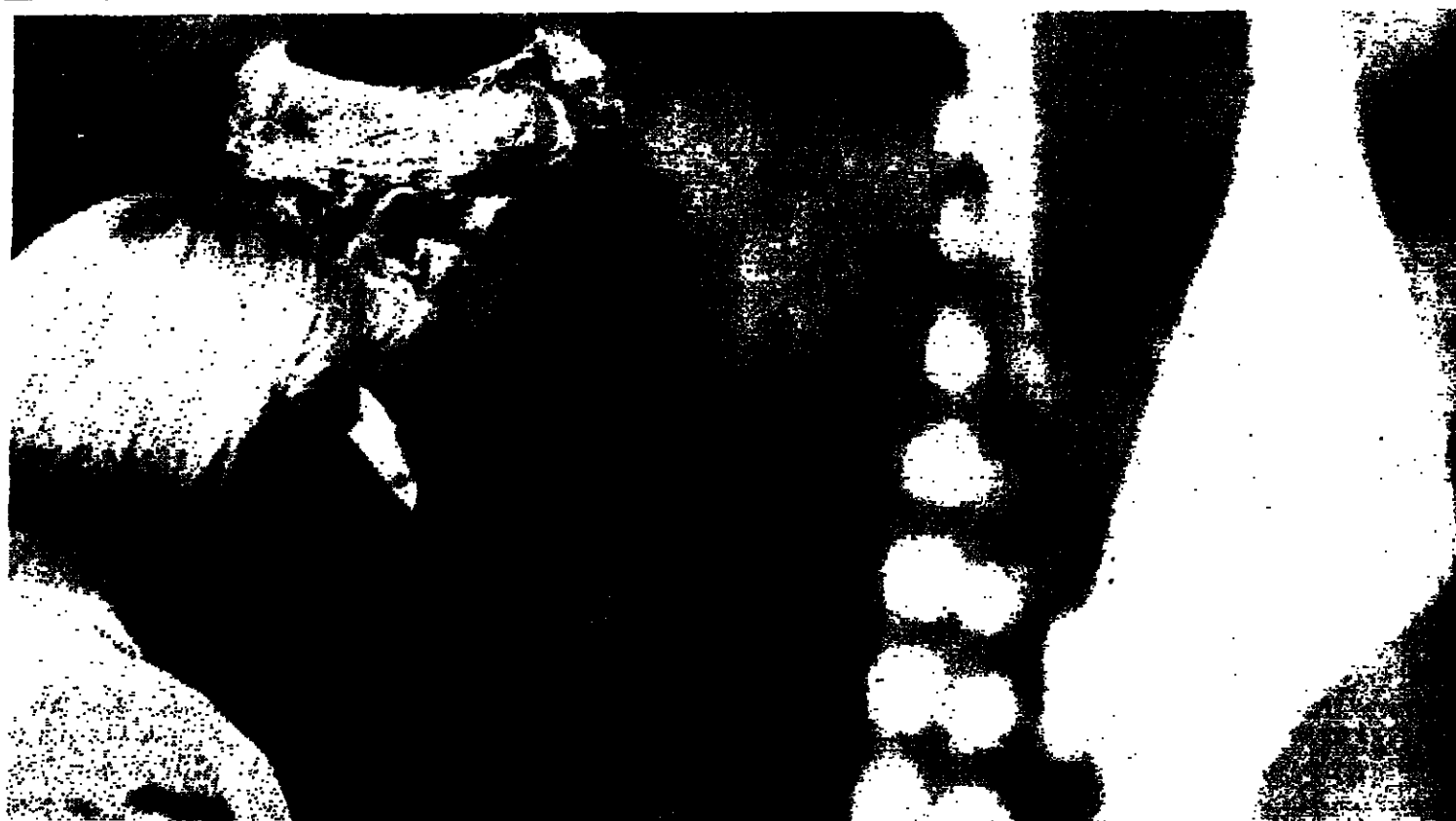
The Israel Cancer Association yesterday sent a congratulatory message to Sneh, who is himself a doctor and internal-medicine specialist. "With your signature," wrote association

director-general Miri Ziv, "you contribute significantly to the nation's health and improvement of the quality of life of tens of thousands of workers."

Health Ministry spokeswoman Yifat Ben-Hai confirmed that the minister had come under intense pressure regarding the bill, both from anti-smoking interests here and abroad and from the Dubek tobacco company.

While anti-tobacco groups had expected Sneh to sign the amendment as his first official act in office, he waited several weeks in order to "examine the issue and ensure that it was viable and that smokers would not be harmed by it."

Asked whether the ministry would allocate funds for public-service announcements on radio and TV to encourage enforcement, Ben-Hai said this has not yet been discussed.



US President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, pause in front of the Warsaw Ghetto memorial yesterday.

Undercover agent foils heroin deal

RAINE MARCUS

AN UNDERCOVER agent and alleged associate of a suspected drug dealer was sent to India to help police block the smuggling of 50 kilograms of heroin to Israel, police said yesterday.

The two main suspects, Shimon Ben-Hamo of Ashdod and Michel Hachuel of Rishon LeZion, were remanded for 10 days in Ramle Magistrates Court yesterday, after police said they belonged to an international smuggling ring and had for some years organized shipments of massive amounts of heroin and cocaine.

Dutch police had succeeded in blocking cocaine smuggling routes from Colombia via Europe to Israel, said police, and Ben-Hamo and Hachuel searched for alternative sources and routes. But the two denied all allegations, and said that the agent was used as an "agent provocateur" by police to set them up.

Hachuel was arrested just as he started his honeymoon following his wedding Wednesday evening. Ben-Hamo said that at the time police alleged he organized additional shipments, he was serving a 15-year prison sentence for manslaughter.

Narcotics squad detectives have been investigating the pair for years, but the undercover operation, dubbed "Ship in the Desert," was only launched a few months ago. Ben-Hamo was arrested in Holland around six months ago on suspicion of drug dealing but was released a few months later because of lack of evidence.

Ben-Hamo and Hachuel allegedly sent agent Yoni Naji, an alleged associate of Hachuel's, to India to buy 10 kilograms of heroin from local dealers there for \$30,000. Police said that the deal was intended as an experiment, and if Naji had succeeded in smuggling the drugs to Israel, the pair would have arranged a 50 kg. shipment the next time around. Narcotics squad head Supt. Rami Yahav accompanied Naji to India, and the two gathered evidence against Hachuel and Ben-Hamo.

Police said this was the first time they had worked in close cooperation with Indian drug enforcement agencies. Property belonging to the two suspects, allegedly purchased with profits from drug dealing, was seized by police, who will try to freeze the assets.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Beersheba honor for Rabin torpedoed

Likud members of the Beersheba municipality board of directors have prevented Mayor Yitzhak Rager from passing a proposal to make Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin - also the acting interior minister - an honorary citizen of the city.

Deputy Mayor Andrei Uzan led the opposition, a further outgrowth of continuing internal battles on the board since the municipal coalition was established in November.

A senior Likud source said the party in principle had nothing against granting honorary citizenship to people regardless of their political affiliation, but with an investigation under way into alleged financial wrongdoing by Rager, and when the Interior Ministry is to appoint a comptroller of its own to work with the municipality, the timing of the proposed move was inappropriate. *Amir Rozenblit*

Worker electrocuted at chemical plant

A worker at the Rotem-Import chemical factory in the Negev was electrocuted after touching an electrified security fence Wednesday night. Rahamin Telkar, 52, of Dimona was killed in the accident. Although police are almost certain of the cause of death, a Beersheba Magistrates Court judge approved a police request for an autopsy. *Itim*

Four get jail terms for gang rape

Four youths were sentenced to up to 27 months in prison for gang raping a 16-year-old girl near Netanyahu's Independence Square. The incident occurred on October 29 after the girl agreed to drink vodka with them. One of the four then raped the girl, and after she refused to have sex with his friends, they also raped her.

One of the youths received 27 months in jail, another two years and a third two years in a closed institution. A fourth suspect received a year's suspended sentence. They were also forced to pay the girl a total of NIS 2,400. *Itim*

Rabid jackal attacks moshav

A rabid jackal "attacked" residents of Moshav Tzafon near Jerusalem yesterday, and the Health Ministry asks anyone who may have been in contact with the jackal to report immediately to the Jerusalem district health office, (02) 314-813.

Poisoned fish found in Yeroham

THE Health Ministry yesterday warned the public not to fish until further notice in Yeroham's artificial lake, because poisoned fish had been found there. The ministry also advised against purchasing fish from unidentified or unreliable sources.

Staff at Center for Blind end strike

The 20 workers at the Israel Center for the Blind in Tel Aviv returned to work yesterday when the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs provided NIS 396,000 and promised the rest of its budget for this year.

The public center provides highly subsidized items for the country's 10,000 blind persons, including talking computers, braille machines and walking sticks. The center's workers went on strike four days ago to protest the ministry's failure to transfer funds.

Foreign minister of Congo arriving Monday

Foreign Minister Benjamin Bounkoulou of Congo will arrive here Monday for a four-day visit, at the invitation of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, the Foreign Ministry spokesman announced yesterday. Bounkoulou, to be accompanied by his wife and a three-man delegation, will be received by President Ezer Weizman and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and will hold talks with Peres on bilateral relations.

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Israeli doctor initiates effort to help babies in Tunisia

JUDY SIEGEL

A NEW international society on childbirth, initiated by an Israeli obstetrician and established in cooperation with the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, will "adopt" a hospital, village or town in Tunisia and Morocco to help reduce the local infant and maternal mortality rate.

The formation of the society was the result of the First World Congress on Labor and Delivery, which ended yesterday in Jerusalem after four days of discussions. The conference, which was attended by nearly 1,000 physicians, nurses and midwives from 46 countries, was held at the city's Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza Hotel and the nearby International Convention Center.

Prof. Daniel Weinstein, the initiator and president of the congress, said yesterday that senior doctors, scientists, anesthetologists, pediatricians, and midwives would participate in the new childbirth society.

Weinstein said the lowest infant and maternal death rates were in Western countries with large numbers of skilled medical professionals. "If they lend their knowledge and skills to the Third World, they can cut death and morbidity rates among women and infants there," he said. In underdeveloped countries, many tens of thousands of mothers die in childbirth each year, and hundreds of thousands of infants do not survive their first birthday.

None of the doctors who had registered for the congress from Muslim countries, including Morocco, Bahrain and Qatar, attended.

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STEIMATZKY'S OFFERS JULY 94

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SOMETIMES MY MOTHER-IN-LAW IS RIGHT

My mother-in-law has a number of sayings that really annoy me. For example, "mothers are always right" or "blood is thicker than water". My wife and I decided to get away from her and other troubles. We took a trip to Europe. Our travel agent recommended a small car rental agency in Rome. He said they charged \$20 less than Avis. In Rome, they said "the car is ready to go, Ciao!" After 20 kilometers the car suddenly stopped. The gas tank looked full but it was empty. It seems the gauge didn't work. It took us half a day to reach the rental agency by phone... and it took them another two days to replace the car. "I told you", my mother-in-law said "when you buy cheap, you pay dearly." It's not easy to admit, but this time she was right.

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FRIDAY, JULY 8, 1994

People-power: Strategy of a protest movement

The groundswell of demonstrations has specific goals: to consolidate the right, sow self-doubt among the left, and help decide the undecided, **Herb Keiron reports**

THE demonstrations provoked by Yasser Arafat's visit this week were like background static on the radio. Some turned the dial a bit and tried to hear what was being broadcast, while others switched to another station altogether because they couldn't bear the annoyance.

The ultimate purpose of the demonstrations, according to the organizers, was to bring down the government. But no one was naive enough to believe that just because more than 100,000 people (according to the police) turned up in Jerusalem's Zion Square on Saturday night, or because a few hundred more clashed with the police in front of the Prime Minister's Office during Sunday morning's cabinet meeting, that Rabin would throw up his arms in deep despair and quit.

Ya'acov Novick, one of the leaders of a small coordinating committee called Match Ma'amatz, which has organized scores of anti-government demonstrations over the past two years, said: "The purpose of all the demonstrations is to keep Labor from winning another election by making it clear that the government does not have public support."

Novick said the demonstrations keep in the public's mind the idea that there is opposition to the peace process, that it is not "the natural, normal flow of events that people have to accept."

"Continuous demonstrations help erode public support," he said. "People see the protests and then question why people are demonstrating. It keeps the issues alive."

The government, according to Yehiel Leiter, a spokesman for the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, is not the only target. "The protests help galvanize the opposition political parties. Street activity is the best way to rope them into greater unity, to solidify the opposition, amalgamate the parties and personalities," he said. Leiter said the well-publicized hand-



On the road near Mitzpe Yericho this week, police restrain a demonstrator who threatened an Arab passerby.

(Brian Hender)

shake between warring Likud leaders Binyamin Netanyahu and Ariel Sharon at the Zion Square demonstration was a manifestation of the power of the protests. "The Likud needs this catalyst from the people, it needs to know that the people - its constituents - will not tolerate a fractious right."

But if the protests turn violent - as they did Saturday night, when some demonstrators damaged property in the Old City - they could have a boomerang effect and push away Likud supporters who don't want to be associated with violence or illegal behavior.

Former foreign minister David Levy gave voice to this possibility in a Likud faction meeting this week, when he warned the party against being dragged along "by groups that issue orders in

violation of the law."

Beyond having an impact on internal Likud politics, the protests, according to Leiter, are also playing a part in keeping Shas and Yit'ud from joining Rabin's government. Leiter claimed the demonstrations scare possible coalition partners who have to be concerned about how their constituents will respond at the ballot box if they become full partners in the government.

Leiter claimed the protests had even begun to sow doubt within Labor itself over whether the party does indeed - as Rabin insists - enjoy popular support for its policies. This doubt surfaced in a Labor faction meeting Monday in which Ra'anah Cohen, in a sharp and angry exchange with the prime minister, implied that Rabin was out of touch with

the mood of the country.

Gadi Wolfsfeld, a Hebrew University professor who wrote a book entitled *The Politics of Provocation: Participation and Protest in Israel*, said the anti-government demonstrations could have an impact on those who have not yet made up their minds about the reforms.

"The question is not only whether the process is right or wrong," Wolfsfeld said, "but also whether it has support or not." He added that, for those who are undecided, seeing that there is a large [more] doubts about the policy."

According to Wolfsfeld, Rabin would be wise not to abandon the street to anti-government demonstrators, and to organize counter-demonstrations. "He needs to show that these demonstrations are

not representative of the whole public. But this is much more difficult to do, because it is easier to get people to come out against something than to bring them to [demonstrate] in support of the government."

Wolfsfeld said that, although in the long run the protests may not, as Rabin has declared on a number of occasions, "move" him from his ultimate policy aims, "in the short term they may set certain limits to the speed and extent of concessions he is willing to make."

Wolfsfeld added that there is a flip side to the demonstration coin: "If the protests are seen as violent and unreasonable, or of being made up only of the religious and not the Likud, then it will work against the protesters and discredit their cause."

Settling in to face facts

THE generators are roaring, the kippa-wearing leader is shouting directives, portable toilets are in place, tents are set up on a rocky plain. In headier times - under a more supportive government - this scene could be an attempt to set up another settlement in Judea or Samaria.

The site of this new "settlement," however, is not on a barren hill somewhere between Nablus and Beit El. Rather, it is on an empty field between the Hebrew University's Givat Ram campus and the Bloomfield Science Museum in Jerusalem.

More than anything else, this "tent city" seems a symbol of the settlement movement's dramatically altered fortunes. Rather than trying to create more facts on the ground, long the motto of Gush Emunim, hundreds of settlers and their supporters are camping out near the Prime Minister's Office to try to ensure that what they created were indeed facts, and not just passing phantoms.

A permanent presence at the site was set up at the end of May by residents of Ma'aleh Levona, the hometown of Margalit Ruth Shohat, who was killed with Kiyat Arba's Rafel Yairi by terrorists near Hebron. Since May, representatives of different settlements have come to camp out at the site for periods ranging from three days to a week. This week it was Beit El Alet's turn; next week it's Mitzpe Yericho and Ma'aleh Michmash. Representatives from Shilo, Itamar, Beit Hagai and others have been there, too.

Beyond the tent city's role as a springboard for demonstrations - this week at least two protests a day originated there - it also serves a therapeutic purpose for many settlers. "We are frustrated, hurt, scared, upset, confused," said Toba Frankel, a Beit El resident active in organizing it. "By being here we are doing something. Maybe it won't help, but we have to stand up and be counted."

The tent city has a kitchen, synagogue, secretariat, small canteen and play-tent for children. Dinners are ordered from a caterer; lunch is largely provided by Har Nof women who bring in 500 sandwiches a day. Local merchants donate other food. The population in the tent city swells on Shabbat, when hundreds of Jerusalemites go there in the afternoon to eat, sing and show support.

A list on the bulletin board at the entrance gives the names and phone numbers of dozens of Jerusalemites offering the use of showers. It also lists who is in charge of cleaning the bathrooms, when there are *minyanim*, and how children should affix pro-settlement bumper stickers to cars (ask the driver's permission first).

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Assad might win some and lose some

As much as the Syrian leader wants Israel to return territory, withdrawal from Lebanon may be an intolerable price to pay, Dore Gold writes

SECRETARY OF State Warren Christopher will soon be examining the issues holding up the Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations. On the surface, it would appear that Syrian President Hafez Assad simply wants to obtain all of the Golan Heights.

But other goals besides recovery of the Golan are affecting the pace and direction of Assad's calculations. Like Syrian presidents who preceded him, he would like to consolidate Syria's position as the dominant force in the Levant, especially in Lebanon. And he hopes to improve his ties with the US and obtain American aid, trade benefits and technology as part of any peace package.

As the peace process gets closer to critical decisions, Assad will find that he may not be able to realize all his aspirations; instead he will be forced to make hard choices. The hardest will involve the question of Syria's status in Lebanon.

Since 1975, Damascus has exploited the low-intensity warfare between Lebanese factions to steadily build up control of its smaller neighbor. Syria's resulting hegemony in Lebanon partially addressed its own self-image as a truncated state which had lost historic lands to Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel due to colonial divisions imposed by the British and the French.

A 1991 study on Syria done for the Council on Foreign Relations bore out the depth of these sentiments: "From Syria's inception there was almost universal agreement among its inhabitants that, within its arbitrary and colonial demarcated boundaries, it was an amputated state." The authors, Alasdair Drysdale and Raymond Hinnebusch, note that the Syrian constitution refers to Syria as a "region" and not as a "state."

Americans who have sat with Assad for hours recall that the principal subject that ignites him into long soliloquies is not the Six Day War but any mention of the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement — the Anglo-French accord that carved up "Bilad al-Sham," Syria of the Moslem conquests. In his view, Syria was further dismembered when many of its Moslem districts were given to Maronite-dominated Lebanon in the 1920s.

Gaining control of Lebanon was not just a question of correcting historic wrongs. Syria itself is a multi-ethnic society with Sunni Arabs, Alawis, Druse, Kurds and a sizable Christian population. Damascus had an interest in keeping the sectarian forces that were tearing apart Lebanon under its tight scrutiny, so that they would not be exported into Syria.

Syrian control of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley also placed a multibillion dollar narcotics trade in the hands of the Syrian political and military elite. And, finally, Syria's military deployments in the Bekaa offered strategic advantages. They enhanced Syria's defenses against an Israeli flanking operation through Lebanese territory and improved Syria's offensive options against Israel.

All of this could be lost to Syria if formal regional peace arrangements are codified in the year ahead. As long

as the Middle East was in a state of war, the international community tolerated the Syrian intervention in Lebanon. The US made the Lebanon question subservient to other priorities in the region, like forming a coalition against Iraq or starting up Arab-Israeli peace negotiations.

But once the treaties are signed, the Americans, as well as other major powers like France, will be forced to clarify their official policies on Lebanese sovereignty and independence. Since the US is likely to witness, sign, and even finance any Israeli-Syrian agreement, it is improbable that Washington will support arrangements that contradict its official policy.

Last year, in his capacity as assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs, Edward Djerejian recapitulated official American policy before a House subcommittee:

"The US... is committed to a unified sovereign and independent Lebanon, free from non-Lebanese and armed militias."

Congress has been even more forceful than the administration about the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon. On July 1, 1993, the Senate unanimously passed a resolution finding Syria in violation of the 1989 Taif Agreement, because it had failed to withdraw the Syrian Army by September 1992 "to the gateway of the Bekaa Valley."

More important than any condemnation, the Senate called "upon the President to consider withholding any potential future assistance to the government of Syria" until Damascus completes the withdrawal it undertook in the Taif Agreement. It added that it was necessary to establish a "firm" timetable for the complete withdrawal of Syrian armed forces from Lebanon.

Lately, however, Israeli policy has been ambivalent about the need for a full Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon.

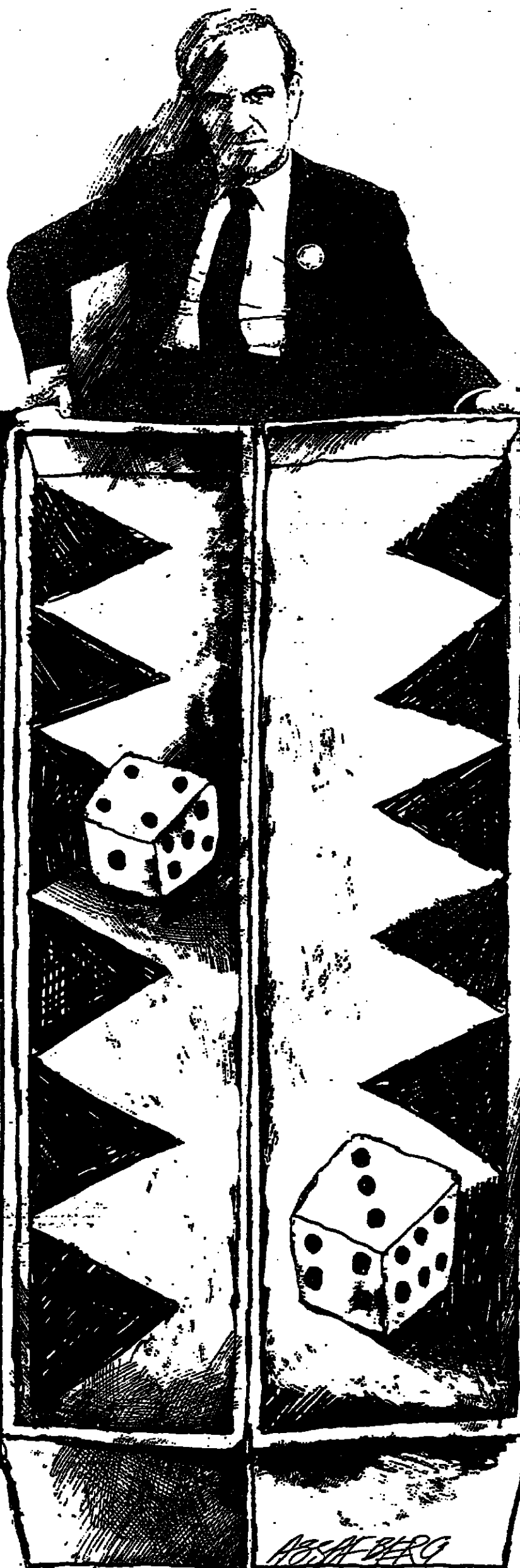
At an appearance before the Knesset foreign affairs and defense committee on June 28, Prime Minister Rabin reportedly stated: "It doesn't bother me so much if a Syrian division sits north of the Bekaa."

Thus, the real factor affecting Lebanon's fate will be US policy. For now, the Clinton administration shows no sign of readiness to sacrifice the Lebanese state to Syria in order to expedite an Israeli-Syrian peace accord.

On June 14, Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.) asked Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau about the state of US-Syrian relations in light of Syrian policy on human rights, terrorism, drugs, weapons and Lebanon. Pelletreau explained that "we've agreed in principle that we would be exploring all these issues... but I cannot report to you that much progress has been made in that regard."

Lebanon's last chance for real independence is tied to the fate of the Israeli-Syrian negotiations. If the US backs an accord which leaves Syria in control of Lebanon, Lebanon's fate as a Syrian protectorate will be sealed for decades.

If the US insists on defending Lebanon's sovereignty, Assad will face a tough choice. He can restore Syria's



1967 losses, but he will have to legitimate the very colonial divisions of the Levant that, as a first priority, he and his predecessors have long sought to erase.

The writer is the director of the US Foreign and Defense Policy Project, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

Peace will come with Syria, but at what price?

Has there been a change in Syria's will and in its perception of its military power and limitations? Alon Pinkas asks Middle East experts

MAJ.-GEN. Uri Saguy, chief of IDF Intelligence, has made a career of lecturing on Syria's strategic transformation and about President Hafez Assad's intentions regarding peace.

"His [Assad's] view of the changing world, and Syria's lack of superpower patronage once the Soviet Union disintegrated, has led him to reassess Syria's strategic options," Saguy said several weeks ago in a meeting with military analysts.

Assad had "to admit failure in attaining parity with Israel and to begin a process of peace intended to improve relations with the US," he said.

Saguy has reiterated this position — shared by Chief of General Staff Ehud Barak and military intelligence's Syria and Lebanon department — on several occasions.

"This is a process which in effect began as early as 1988," says Prof. Moshe Maoz, head of the Truman Institute and author of *Assad: The Sphinx of Damascus* (1988) and the forthcoming (1995) *Syria-Israel: From War to Peace Making*.

"Since his rise to power in the early 1970s, and especially since the 1973 war, Assad has accepted a political solution and UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, albeit on his terms, and in exchange for nonbelligerency rather than peace."

"Following the 1979 Camp David accords, feeling isolated and threatened by Israel, he developed the concept of 'strategic parity,' which constituted both an offensive and a defensive posture."

"But in 1987, following a meeting with then Soviet leader [Mikhail] Gorbachev, Assad realized that he would no longer enjoy superpower support. And after the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988, in which he supported Iran, he fully understood that power relations in the world had changed, and that he must turn his interests back to the Arab world. That meant Egypt, and that was the beginning of the change."

ANOTHER VIEW of Assad's goals considers the symmetrical composition, rather than the essence, of the peace agreement. Intelligence experts, academics, analysts and politicians by and large agree that the Syrian-Israeli peace equation is quite simple.

In return for a full Israeli withdrawal (as distinct from Prime Minister Rabin's formula for withdrawal) from the Golan Heights, Syria would be ready for full peace, including normalization of relations.

Graduality, of withdrawal and normalization, is a principle that would be discussed in a later stage of the negotiations, as would the security arrangements that Israel would demand.

The two views diverge at this point, with conflicting interpretations and assessments of the essence of the peace, its attributes, its cost-effectiveness and overall necessity and value.

The debate is over how positively or adversely Israel's strategic disposition would be affected by a peace agreement with Syria.

According to intelligence assessments, Syria is likely to accept gradually, Israel's dilemma stems from an analysis of Syria's strategic predicament, and leads to the question of whether Israel should accept the equation at all, and whether the cost outweighs the potential benefits.

"If Israel wants peace with Syria, it must understand its price," says Dr. Yossi Olmert, a Syria and Lebanon expert.

"If the question is, must we reach a peace agreement with Syria, the answer is 'No.' If the question is, should we achieve peace, and is it desirable, the answer is 'Yes,'" Olmert says.

Rabin's formula, according to which "the depth of withdrawal would equal the depth of peace," highlighted the dilemma because theoretically it gave Syria the opportunity to define what "full peace" means, thus overcoming the obstacle contained in article 5A of the Israeli-Syrian declaration of principles, drafted in Washington last year. But Assad, did not seize the opportunity.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres offered one explanation, saying that Assad is interested in the process, rather than in its results. This view is shared by some in the intelligence community who estimate that Assad is first and foremost a patient man, interested primarily in the survivability of his minority Alawite regime.

In the context of the peace talks, he is interested in improving relations with the US and getting Syria off the list of "terrorism-sponsoring states," a move that would generate investments in Syria's struggling economy.

Others, such as Dr. Eyal Zisser of the Dayan Center at Tel Aviv University, evaluate Assad as a weak leader, reactive rather than active, influenced and affected by events rather than the other way around.

This view contrasts somewhat with that of Maoz: "He did, in his January 1994 summit with President Bill Clinton, say specifically that he is interested in formal peace."

There are other, subtler indications that Syria has changed, but the change is strategic and not ideological, which is why it is not dramatic, he adds.

Olmert's view is that "this is a man, one of the last dinosaurs, who has an inherent deficiency in understanding the West and the US in particular. I make a distinction between a change in Syria's will and a change in its perceptions and recognition of its own capabilities and limitations. The latter obviously changed."

"Basically, Assad is caught in a contradiction. He opposes gradually and is reluctant to offer normalization. But normalization, as part of the elements he finds difficult to digest, could be accepted only if he agrees to gradually. Otherwise, he will not get the Golan Heights," he adds.

ONE THING both civilian and military analysts agree on is that Assad perceives Israel as a threat.

"Israel's nuclear capabilities, whether they exist or not, are perceived as a serious threat by Syria," Maoz says.

That is why all the analysts agree that Assad's continued military buildup and modernization are primarily for purposes of deterrence, not an offensive option.

"Following its logic and interests, Syria is right in perceiving Israel as a military threat. Israel, however, is right politically in its negotiating strategy, because we know that in a democracy you cannot [make a] surprise attack out of the blue," said a very senior army officer.

Symbolism is nice, but it doesn't pay the bills

'JERICHO is the symbol, but Gaza is the reality,' said Nabil Shaath during Yasser Arafat's visit this week.

The visit, a prelude to Arafat's permanent residency, has shown that reality wins. Arafat went to Gaza first largely because Shaath, the Palestinian Authority's planning minister, told him to.

Yet for months before he arrived it was taken for granted that Arafat would live in Jericho, which many Palestinians call the "symbol of the beautiful integrity of the West Bank" and a half-hour drive from Jerusalem, "capital of the State of Palestine."

But, Shaath pointed out, that's not the real problem now. Gaza is the real problem, and "Chairman Arafat's work in government is to

Although it was assumed that Yasser Arafat would live in Jericho, he'll settle down in Gaza, where the real problems exist, Jon Immanuel writes

solve the real problem," Shaath told a Jericho news conference. So Arafat will live in Gaza, he said, and instead of spending his time flying around the world, like a pan-Arab statesman stopping here for brief visits, Arafat will stay here and pay short visits only abroad. Even then, most likely, those visits will be on behalf of the Palestinian Authority, like Wednesday's trip to Paris.

Reality must have caught up with Arafat when he realized that despite the excitement that preceded his "homecoming," it quickly turned to disappointment for many people when they realized that he did not bring any money with him.

Visitor after visitor came hoping to get down to business, but instead was greeted with kind words and rhetoric about the greatness of the Palestinian people. "There was just no chance to do anything," complained Ibrahim Salameh, head of the industrialists' association, as he walked away from the Palestine Hotel.

They even criticized Arafat's speeches of glorification of the Palestinian cause, standard fare in his public addresses, for not giving

them a clue about their economic future.

This was true, too, in Jabalya refugee camp, the fountainhead of the intifada, where Arafat seemed to exploit the naivety and natural patriotism of the very young, some too young to have participated in the intifada, encouraging them in arm-waving renditions of patriotic slogans. To their elders he was apologetic, saying "it was the best agreement we could get in the worst possible situation."

Coming down from his pedestal to make the most realistic statement of his trip, he earned some sympathy from camp residents "for his honesty."

Arafat's only forays into economic issues were his accusations against Israel for destroying the Palestinian economy. In public, he did try once. In Jericho he spoke of an "agricultural revolution," harnessing a term associated with overthrowing Israel to the gritty-gritty of increasing banana and citrus production.

But he spent more time criticizing Israel for placing roadblocks and depriving him of his audience when only about 5,000 Palestinians turned up. But even Jericho folk stayed away. "It's a happy day, but no festival, and we have

to work," said Ahmed Barakat, a grocer.

In Gaza, Arafat opened a new Italian-UN Development Projects' citrus plant, but when invited to address the assembled guests could hardly think of anything to say about a factory which would pulp 40,000 tons of oranges a year into exportable vitamin C.

Shaath, in contrast, a former professor of corporate management at the prestigious Wharton Business School in Pennsylvania, made all the right statements about future planning, including Arafat's housing plans. Notably, they were all about Gaza and contained very little about Jericho's development, although the meeting of the Palestinian Authority which discussed them was in Jericho.

THE REALITY contains a happy irony. Arafat's arrival excited Palestinians less than Israelis, who either imagined that Arafat had some mystical hold on the Palestinians or saw in him a demonic figure to be killed because his very presence in the Holy Land might spell the end of the Jewish state.

The transition of Arafat from

political symbol to economic administrator, though only tentative, is moving ahead and drew a fair share of schizophrenic comment on the day of his departure.

The *An-Nahar* newspaper, known for its pro-Jordanian views, hailed Arafat in Wednesday's editorial obsequiously as "our brother, friend and father... our excellency." Then it got to the point. "Our people are lost! We are getting support from no one. Many followed leaders out of greed for position, status and money [a reference to Arafat's control of the purse strings which the World Bank is demanding he relinquish]."

Then the punch line. Jordan is the solution. "You and King Hussein are the captains. Anyone who denies this has suspicious motives" (meaning, anyone who thinks Arafat can govern without Jordan is suspect).

The more pro-PLO *Al-Quds* pointed out that Arafat said people must become self-sufficient and then criticized donor countries for holding up aid.

Even Shaath, whose white safari suit seems to say "let's roll up our sleeves and get on with the job," failed to address the ultimate reality. At his Jericho news conference on the proceedings of the first session of the Palestinian Authority, he referred to many practical matters. But he did not mention any plan to impose taxation, a word that Palestinians do not yet want to hear.

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Their hands shook before the great handshake

David Makovsky gives a behind-the-scenes portrait of the Israeli-PLO negotiations in Oslo

GIVING a false excuse to Swedish hosts as to why he needed to talk to visiting Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst rushed directly to the Hagia Palace at Peres's request on August 18 of last year to help wrap up the secret Israeli-PLO talks.

At first, Peres sat nearby as the Norwegian - close to midnight - began a seven-hour phone conversation, mostly with Palestinian negotiator Ahmed Q'uri (Abu Ala) in Tunis.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat was in the background. Both Peres's and Arafat's voices could be heard on the phone.

After a while, Peres took a nap. He was awoken three times during the night and called Rabin a couple of times. One of the issues discussed was Palestinian insistence upon being allowed to run self-rule institutions in an area outside of Gaza and Jericho, a clear reference to Orient House in eastern Jerusalem.

This was something the Palestinians had been insisting upon since the start of the Oslo talks early in the year. Now it was the last major point of the negotiations. Before daybreak, Peres agreed, but failed to check with Rabin. There was a sense of triumph that negotiations were being wrapped up.

IN THE morning, however, Peres did phone Rabin. The prime minister was angry. Rabin insisted that Peres retract the concession. As Peres left for a prescheduled visit to Oslo, where the document was to be secretly initiated, there was still more negotiating to be done before a celebratory signing could take place. It was not easy.

Rabin and Peres agreed to sign a letter ensuring that existing Palestinian institutions in eastern Jerusalem could operate without interference, and would even be encouraged. Israel's negotiators in Oslo were not aware of this at the time. This was the context of the famous Peres letter that was recently disclosed.

On at least three other occasions, Peres circumvented Rabin. On November 16, 1992, two months before the Oslo negotiations began, Peres flew to Cairo and asked the Egyptians to sound out whether the PLO would give its blessing to local Palestinians taking over "Gaza plus" (Jenin or Jericho). The PLO refused.

On the second occasion, in February, Peres told Secretary of State Warren Christopher that Palestinian leader Faisal Husseini needed to be added to the Washington talks, but said the only way Rabin would accept this would be if it was put forward as an American proposal.

In Christopher-Rabin talks a month later, Rabin agreed. On the third occasion, in March, Peres used the Egyptians again to send a message to Arafat, asking whether he would be interested in gaining control of Gaza and Jericho.

A chain of events ensued, and at the Ismailiya summit on April 14 between President Hosni Mu-

barak and Rabin, Egyptian presidential adviser Osama el-Baz pulled out a letter and map from the PLO leader saying he was indeed interested in gaining control of Gaza and Jericho.

Fearing that the revived formal Washington talks might move ahead, the PLO leader put the issue of Jerusalem on the table, ensuring those talks would be paralyzed indefinitely. At about the same time he removed the issue of Jerusalem from the table in Oslo, catching Rabin's attention.

THE IDEA of official Israeli-PLO talks was not a result of grand design.

Shortly after authorizing the first session in Sarpsborg, Norway, on January 20-22, Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin informed Peres, who later told Rabin, about the secret channel. None of the three took it seriously at the start.

The change in the character of the negotiations brought a change in Rabin's involvement. After May, he shifted into an active mode and guided the negotiations through their successful conclusion in August.

Peres was interested in the big picture, but Rabin insisted on the terms of the talks. Rabin did not involve any of his personal aides in the decision-making process. When negotiations dealt with actual terms, participants said Peres's eyes would often begin to wander, and it was Rabin who was in command. The public perception of Peres or Beilin presenting Rabin with a fait accompli is simply wrong.

WHILE SOME in the Foreign Ministry were already keen on signing with the PLO by the end of May, Rabin instructed Yoel Singer, a lawyer working in the defense establishment, to substantially revise the earlier Declaration of Principles drafted by academics.

He got rid of two Arafat proposals presented at Ismailiya: the idea of extraterritoriality for a road linking Gaza and Jericho; and Palestinians having sole control of the crossing points, such as the Allenby Bridge. He insisted Palestinian jurisdiction outside of Gaza and Jericho be sharply qualified, so Israel would have the right in future negotiations to retain key spheres of civilian control. Rabin also insisted that the settlements remain under Israeli control.

After two rounds of talks in Norway ending on July 6, Israelis and Palestinians believed they stood on the verge of a deal. By that date, Israel had already agreed to the principle of withdrawing from Gaza and Jericho.

At this point, the brinkmanship began. Arafat inserted no fewer than 26 changes in the early July draft, backtracking on Jerusalem, Israeli control over settlers and other exceptions to Palestinian jurisdiction.

The person who brought good tidings was Ahmed Tibi, the eastern Jerusalem-based Israeli-Arab gynecologist. With Oslo stuck, Rabin opened a back channel to the back channel. Rabin asked

then health minister Haim Ramon to convey to Tibi an unaddressed letter to Tunis, asking for the PLO's formal answers to a variety of questions.

Rabin wanted to know, once and for all, if Jerusalem and settlers were outside of self-rule, whether the jurisdictional clause could be softened, and whether Israel could be granted overall security powers. In the end, the PLO leader agreed that there would be no mention of Jerusalem, and said Israel's security powers would be external and applicable to settlers and Israelis visiting the territories, but not geographically inclusive to include the Gaza-Jericho areas. The meaning of this would become apparent later: Israel would not have genuine hot-pursuit capabilities against suspected perpetrators of violence.

Arafat also said all the above was contingent upon Israel's agreement to mutual recognition with the PLO. Another unaddressed letter was sent back from Tunis to Rabin. Israel agreed to mutual recognition, and all of a sudden 26 outstanding issues were reduced to three.

A VARIETY of players had key

roles in Oslo, but Rabin remained the ultimate decision-maker. Throughout the Oslo process, the prime minister's decision-making was incremental.

He approved certain steps and vetoed others, but neither initiated nor conceptualized the shape of the negotiation process. His commitment to Oslo came late in the day. If a breakthrough could have been achieved with Damascus, Rabin probably would have preferred that path.

Two weeks before the Oslo accords, Christopher met the premier to discuss reviving the negotiations with Syria and asked him about the seriousness of back-channel talks in Norway. Rabin made a hand motion, dismissing the seriousness of the talks. While this response may have been deliberately misleading in order to keep the US out of the picture, Rabin later said that he was dubious of the talks' success.

The Clinton Administration received at least half a dozen warnings about Oslo, including a draft Declaration of Principles completed at the end of March by Prof. Yair Hirschfeld and Ahmed Q'uri.

The US ignored the warnings, thinking both that Rabin would

never go for it, and that it was only one of several back channels, which included quiet talks between MK Ephraim Sneh and senior PLO adviser Nabil Shaath. However, only on August 3 did Christopher confront Israel about it directly.

Rabin fashioned no grand design down the road to Oslo, but at the same time was ripe for such a move. Oslo would demonstrate the gap between Rabin the analyst and Rabin the politician. Rabin the analyst was more daring, while Rabin the politician was afraid of negative public response. As early as March 1993, Rabin told Christopher during a private meeting that Washington's talks with Palestinians would not move without Arafat.

However, when asked about his operative conclusion from such an analysis, Rabin simply demurred. (IDF head of military intelligence Maj.-Gen. Uri Saguy also told American Jewish leaders in a private session that month that Israel had failed to split off local Palestinians from the PLO.)

Negotiations with the PLO marked a change for Rabin, but they did not mark a revolution. Rabin's openness to exploring the Oslo option, however tentative,

was also crucial, and should not be underestimated. However incremental his approach, Oslo could not have been seriously tried without his approval. This openness stemmed from a variety of factors in his own thinking, which provided an indispensable context that allowed talks to proceed.

Since taking office, he publicly made clear his regional analysis of the opportunities and dangers of the post-Cold War and post-Gulf war Middle East.

Rabin reiterated the need to lock in agreements with neighboring countries while there was a window of opportunity, and to shift resources to deal with potential threats by the end of the decade from Iran and Iraq.

He believed that an ascendant Islamic militancy offered an alarming alternative to the status quo, especially since the PLO's institutional structure in the territories had withered for lack of funds, a financial crisis caused by its support for Iraq during the Gulf war.

THE ISRAELIS let the Palestinians believe statehood was a likely outcome in the event that the interim period was a success.

In a joint interview with Savir and Q'uri (Abu Ala) in Oslo, Savir recalled, "the Palestinians needed to know that autonomy could lead to a state, while we needed to know it would bring security. Once the red lines were understood, everything else could be maneuvered. But if they were

not understood, we could have negotiated for years without results." According to Abu Ala, "We saw those red lines from the beginning."

Hirschfeld would later remember that "in private conversations, we would tell the Palestinians in Oslo that if there is security, stability and economic cooperation, then the interests of the two parties will be to go beyond an interim agreement."

Abu Ala went further in the Oslo interview, indicating that the prospect of a Palestinian state had to be not just a distinct possibility but a real eventuality.

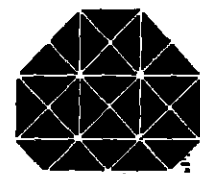
"We needed to know the Israeli view whether the interim agreement shaped or did not shape final status. This was the most key point," Abu Ala said.

On a personal level, Rabin was receptive to Oslo due to the well-answering of his military advisers, his own intense pragmatism, with its distaste for ideology, and his intellectual honesty.

Finally, his thinking had a political and public dimension. Rabin's desire to deliver on his campaign promises prompted action. Peres and Beilin reflected the majority in Rabin's government in pushing a deal with the PLO.

The above is based on a study to be published next month by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy written by David Makovsky, diplomatic correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

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Midreshet Shalom
Two Evenings of Study and Discussion (in Hebrew)
Tuesday and Wednesday, July 12-13, 1994 (4-5 Av 5754)
Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, 43 Jabotinsky St.

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Monday, July 11
18:00-19:00 Rabbi Yitzhak Barda, Chief Rabbi of Ramat Gan
After Peace
19:15-20:15 Prof. Uriel Simon
The Book of Joshua - Moral Dilemmas (please bring a Bible)
Dr. Ephraim Sneh, Minister of Health
The Chances for the Peace Process

Wednesday, July 13
18:00-19:00 Dr. Moshe Halbertal
Ways of Peace in Halacha - Between Expediency and Moral Values
19:15-20:15 Prof. Uriel Simon
Yonatan ben Shaul - Yefe Nefesh: Loyalty versus Justice (please bring a Bible)
19:15-20:15 Dr. Elliott Horowitz
Judaism and Violence: Festivity and Violence on Purim (in English)
Prof. Aviezer Ravitzky
Messianism in Crisis



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Space-age sensors unlock ancient texts

Techniques employed by NASA are being used to reveal invisible words in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Abraham Rabinovich reports

CAMERA technology designed to probe distant planets is being re-focused in Jerusalem to capture from close up the faded writing of the Dead Sea scrolls.

In a pilot project that shows striking promise, imaging techniques that can detect the nature of a planet's surface from a fly-by satellite, or pick up signs from space of mineral deposits beneath the earth's surface, are being employed to examine ancient scrolls rendered illegible by time.

One damaged scroll from Qumran - the Genesis Apocryphon - which had grudgingly offered up 1,000 words to scholars during years of painstaking study of its darkened surface, was made to yield another 200 words last week by the space-age instruments.

Such a spectacular result is unlikely to be repeated with other Dead Sea Scrolls, since none are as illegible. But Prof. Emanuel Tov, chief editor of the scrolls publication project, said the technique - multispectral imaging - has proven itself, and could be used to clarify the contents of other scrolls, albeit in less dramatic fashion. "I'm interested in every single letter," Tov said.

The project was conceived by Dr. Gregory Bearman, a physicist at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California, which directs planetary exploration for NASA. A designer of remote-sensing instruments for a planned probe of Pluto, Bearman is also an archeology buff. Two years ago, he heard a lecture on the Dead Sea Scrolls by Prof. Bruce Zuckerman, who teaches Bible Studies at the University of Southern California. Zuckerman and his brother Kenneth have devised special techniques for photographing ancient documents; in his lecture, Zuckerman spoke of the use of infrared photography to reveal writing no longer visible to the naked eye.

After mulling over what he had heard, Bearman telephoned the professor. "Did you guys ever try multispectral imaging?" he asked. The two men got together over lunch to explore the idea.

Infrared is used in photographing faded documents because it is sensitive to light over a wider span of wavelengths than conventional film or the naked eye. It can sometimes pick up contrasts between the light reflected by the parchment and that

reflected by the ink - each reflected on a different wavelength - when the naked eye can make out only a dark blob.

The human eye is sensitive to wavelengths of up to about 700 nanometers (a nanometer is one-billionth of a meter); infrared is sensitive to about 900 nanometers. Multispectral imaging used for space photography, Bearman told Zuckerman, can detect wavelengths of up to 3,000 nanometers, offering far greater possibilities of picking up contrasting reflections of parchment and ink. Furthermore, the minute variances that are detected can then be enhanced by a computer.

To test the theory, the Zuckermans and Bearman obtained a tiny fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon that had been sent for study to the Getty Conservation Institute in California by the Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum. The document, among those purchased by the late Yigael Yadin, was the worst preserved of the Dead Sea Scrolls and was steadily deteriorating.

Using equipment borrowed from the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Bearman was able, by employing long wavelengths, to penetrate a flap of parchment covering part of the text. On his screen appeared the Hebrew phrase, "He wrote the words of Noah," which had been entirely hidden.

Impressed by this demonstration, Israeli archeological authorities agreed to have the process tested on a broader scale. Bearman arrived in Jerusalem last month with the Zuckermans and Sheila Spiro, executive director of The Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California, which is helping to underwrite the project. They set up their equipment at the Shrine of the Book and were given the rest of the Genesis Apocryphon to examine.

THE DOCUMENT was placed beneath an electronic camera with a charge-coupled device, which records images in digital form rather than chemically on film. One piece of equipment - with the fitting name of Liquid Crystal Tunable Filters - is so new that it has not even been used yet on space flights. The filters, operated electronically, permit rapid switching between wavelengths.

The images, taken at various wavelengths, were fed directly into a computer. Final results will not be known until Bear-



Dr. Gregory Bearman, a US physicist, uses a computerized camera to reveal text of the Dead Sea Scrolls no longer visible to the naked eye. (Jodi Fishman)

man analyzes the data after he returns home next week, but the interim findings are extremely encouraging.

"There have been lots of 'Eurekas,'" said Spiro, referring to the shouts of exultation when a blob turned into a distinguishable word or phrase on the screen.

The results thus far have delighted Prof. Jonas Greenfield of the Hebrew University and Elisha Qimron of Ben-Gurion University, the two Israeli scholars who have spent years trying to decipher the document.

"It's a great success," Qimron said. "We had 1,000 words before. Now we have about 1,200."

The information supplied by the new imaging process will permit them to finally publish the troublesome scroll. Greenfield said. He recalled watching as the camera

focused on two words that he and Qimron had had great trouble reading. When the words appeared on the computer screen, there was a click of comprehension. "It just made excellent sense," Greenfield said.

The Jet Propulsion Laboratory supported the program by permitting Bearman to take leave and to borrow the equipment.

"They see this as a technology demonstration," Bearman said. Space sensors may be applied in future to a wide variety of earthly tasks, he said, and for the lab, the scroll project is a way of making that point.

It is not yet clear who will fund a permanent multispectral imaging operation here, but Bearman expressed a willingness to abandon the other planets for a time to help plumb the minds of those who once dwelled at the lowest point on the planet.

Biblical tales the Bible never told

THE Genesis Apocryphon is a delightful elaboration of the tales in Genesis.

The birth of Noah; for instance, is the subject of a dialogue between his parents. Noah is such a wondrous child, the scroll tells us, that his father, Lamech, suspects someone else sired him. He refuses to believe his wife, who reminds him of their great passion. He goes to his father, Methuselah,

who eventually persuades Lamech that he is indeed the father.

Another tale is about the beautiful Sarah being abducted to Egypt by the Pharaoh's men. Abraham goes after her and the Pharaoh falls ill.

Abraham prays for him and lays his hands on him to cure him. According to Prof. Jonas Greenfield of the Hebrew University, this is the only Jewish source that

speaks of the laying on of hands.

The more legible portions of the scroll were published in 1965 by Prof. Nahmat Avigad and Yigael Yadin. Greenfield and Prof. Elisha Qimron of Ben-Gurion University have been struggling for years to read the darker portions. Assistance has now come from the heavens. In the form of space-age equipment that has turned textual darkness into light. A.R.

Nonpartisan effort to keep the peace

A new group called Peace Watch has been set up to make sure both sides adhere to the peace accord. Dan Izenberg reports

ON appearances alone, 30-year-old Dan Polisar is an unlikely candidate to set up an organization to monitor the implementation of the Israel-PLO peace accords.

He has lived here only five years, is not well known, belongs to the national religious camp and resides in the settlement of Eli.

Nevertheless, Polisar had the vision - or temerity - to establish the nonprofit Peace Watch. The still rudimentary state of its offices in Jerusalem's Rehavia neighborhood seem symbolic of the youthfulness of those running the organization and the possible unpreparedness of the venture compared to the forces with which it must contend.

One thing is already certain: Peace Watch has taken on a difficult task.

The group's founding principles say it "is committed to the premise, upon which there is broad consensus both in Israel and abroad, that it is incumbent upon both sides to honor their agreements. Peace Watch therefore sees its mission as being to deter violations of agreements by either side."

As presumptuous as the aim may be, it has captured the imagination of many people. Polisar has managed to attract well-known personalities from both sides of the political spectrum to join the Peace Watch board of directors.

These include Rabbi Yoel Bin-Nun of Ofra; Aaron Kleiman, professor of international relations at Tel Aviv University; Aryeh Nehemkin, former Labor Party agriculture minister; Aviezer Ravitzky, professor of Jewish thought at the Hebrew University and a member of the directorate of Meimad; Dan Schueftan, an expert on Israeli-Arab affairs; Elisha Shapira, former secretary-general of Hakibbutz Ha'artzi; Nathan Sharansky, Soviet Jewry Zionist Forum chairman; and Mookie Tsur, the former secretary-general of Hakibbutz Hameuhad.

Polisar hit upon the idea of establishing Peace Watch soon after the Declaration of Principles was signed last September 13. "I realized that compliance with what was agreed upon, rather than reaching new agreements, would be the stumbling block between Israel and the PLO. Secondly, there is a lot of talk about the deep divide between left and right, religious and secular, the settlers and Tel Aviv. I felt the idea of both sides complying was something that could unite people across a broad spectrum."

Schueftan, who describes himself as a political middle-of-the-roader, said he agreed to join the board because Peace Watch is "an impressive attempt in a highly divided society to create a joint basis for discussion in which all the participants agree the accord must be honored whatever their personal opinion."

Schueftan said that although he had not known him before, Polisar "impressed me as being a serious person. I also saw that he had enlisted a balanced group of people for his board." He has not been disappointed by the results so far, he added.

Peace Watch has a staff of six full-time and three part-time employees, including one Palestinian, and retains Amiram Bogot, a private attorney with schooling in international law. Polisar said he hopes to hire two more Palestinians



Dan Polisar: Presumptuous sim that have captured the imagination of many. (Iliran)

staffers in the next four to six weeks. Funding comes mainly from private individuals abroad.

So far, Peace Watch has published a study of the DOP, issued 10 press releases and prepared four legal opinions by Bogot dealing with the question of the release of the Palestinian prisoners, deviations by both parties from the DOP, the right of Israelis to carry arms in Jericho's Shalom al Yisrael Synagogue, and the status of Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem (not yet released).

Among other things, it has expressed its opinion on Israel's refusal to import agricultural goods from the territories, despite a signed agreement on open borders (a definite Israeli violation), and the PLO's policy of inducting into its police force members of terrorist groups who continued to operate after the signing of the DOP (a definite PLO violation).

Currently, it is investigating whether the Palestinian authorities in Gaza and Jericho are implementing Arafat's announcement unilaterally to abolish military government decrees in the autonomous area and the territories still under Israeli administration (a PLO violation, if true).

Peace Watch has even had a few scoops, according to Polisar. It was the source that revealed Yasser Arafat's controversial Johannesburg mosque speech and discovered that the perpetrators of the Afula bus bombing may have been members of Arafat's Fatah rather than Hamas.

Nevertheless, for all its efforts in the half year since its establishment, the verdict on Peace Watch is not yet in. Although it has voiced its opinion on many issues in dispute between Israel and the PLO which were the focus of widespread attention, the organization has not yet made a strong impact on public opinion.

It is a long way from the point where its reports make news and its opinions are automatically regarded as authoritative.

Asked for his views on Peace Watch, for example, political commentator Uri Avnery, who closely follows the implementation of the agreement and recently published an article in *Ma'ariv* detailing alleged Israeli violations, said he had not heard of the organization.

The politically balanced composition of the board of trustees is a crucial element of Peace Watch's credibility.

According to Schueftan, however, the board convenes only once every two months and the relationship between it and the executive is loose.

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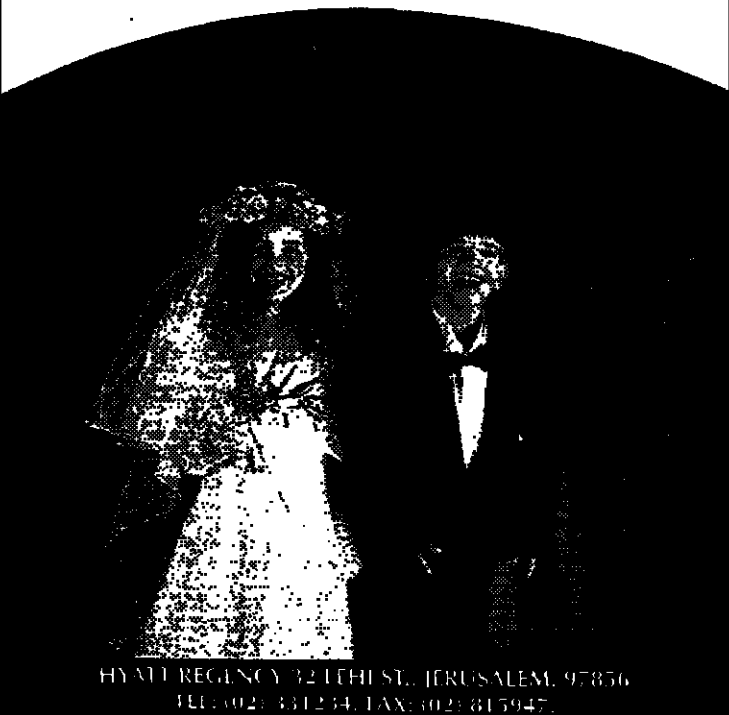
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Super-patriots yell as garbage mounts

CAPITAL TALK

TEDDY KOLLEK with Amos Kollek

TWO days before Yasser Arafat's arrival in Gaza, Israel Radio asked me what I thought of his forthcoming visit. I said I was convinced he wouldn't come to Jerusalem, and that the less fuss we made over him the better it would be for Israel, and for Jerusalem.

Arafat's stature has, to a great extent, been bolstered over the past three decades by his exaggerated image as Israel's most fearsome enemy. This image made him into a myth. It's given him power.

We talked him up in the media. He became a symbolic historical figure. Without us, Arafat would never have become the world force he is today. Maybe it was inevitable.

But in reality, Arafat has been able to inflict only limited damage upon Israel.

I have never been a great believer in slogans, demonstrations or strikes. In the end, what usually works is quiet, persistent effort, with attention to the smallest detail.

What most upset me about Saturday night's demonstration in Jerusalem — where the police did some excellent work under very difficult circumstances — was that it is the sort of thing that clearly and predictably accomplishes the precise opposite of what its organizers claim to want.

Those super-patriots who want to make extra certain that Jerusalem shall never again be divided are themselves striking a blow at the city's unity by making it the core of a noisy, provocative demonstration, at a time when nobody is threatening it.

Certainly by Saturday, nobody in Israel believed Arafat would come to Jerusalem. So why the protest? Sleeping dogs should be allowed to lie.

Of course, opposition leaders may have other considerations. But screaming to the heavens about the dangers of Arafat's very presence in the area (Gaza and Jericho) for three or four days has the effect only of making him stronger, more significant and potentially a bigger threat.

The super-patriots create the monster they say they want destroyed.

HAD THOSE same zealous demonstrators stayed home and watched the World Cup,

like most Israelis, they would have struck a real blow at Arafat, by making him unimportant.

No one in Israel today, either on the right or the left, seriously contemplates the possibility of a divided Jerusalem. On this subject, there is true uniformity of opinion. So why all the yelling and screaming?

Those who truly want to ensure that Jerusalem remains united and strong and under Israel's rule forever should direct all the energy and funds at their disposal to building and beautifying the city, to ensuring that all its citizens are looked after.

They should build new housing so that more immigrants can come; create new industries so they'll have places to work. They should be attracting tourists and capital, and improving education.

Those are the real challenges. Spending money and effort on demonstrations does nothing to meet them. All it does is create an image of Jerusalem as a troubled and troublesome city.

City funds and employees shouldn't be used for political purposes. City Hall's sole responsibility is toward Jerusalem's citizens. Politics is for politicians.

Sadly, I have come to the conclusion that the people who trumpet their concern for the city the loudest, those who vow in the most dramatic terms to defend Jerusalem with the last drop of their blood, either don't understand the city's needs or don't truly care.

Intimidation, waving flags, blowing the shofar and burning Arab shops and Arab cars will get us nowhere. The only answer is construction, planning and growth.

And the little things. While Arafat was in Gaza, there was a garbage collectors' strike in Jerusalem. Garbage piled up in the streets. A small matter? Maybe. But it was something City Hall should have prevented.

Instead, it helped plan a political demonstration against a man who was coming to visit another place and who, for them, would have had less ammunition and incentive to raise the issue of Jerusalem in the future.

ONE day after the US Supreme Court reinstated a \$10 million libel suit against journalist Janet Malcolm for fabricating quotes in the *New Yorker*, Allan M. Siegal of *The New York Times* affirmed the position of his newspaper on the subject.

He said: "We believe that the material between quotation marks must be an absolutely literal rendition of what the quoted person said. We believe that if there is any reason to alter it for clarity or grammatical improvement, then the quotation marks come off and we resort to paraphrase and fragmentary quotes."

As in the case of so much journalism today, the words are high minded and the self-congratulatory claims of unflinching rigor constant — while the actual product is a depressing testament to shoddiness and bias.

On June 5, 1994, *The New York Times* ran a column authored by Jonathan Kuttub, ostensibly rendering verbatim a negotiating session that occurred behind closed doors between Israelis and Palestinians on key legal issues. Even a casual reader will detect the implausibility of the interaction said to have occurred.

Kuttub, a ubiquitous Palestinian figure whose denunciations of Israel are reported unquestioningly in the media, recounts a meeting to which he was a party and in which he alleges Israeli torture and abuse of Palestinians. With each charge the Israeli team is depicted as acknowledging the essential truth of the allegation in evasive answers, weak protestations and tacit agreement, or in cringing physical cues as when Kuttub observes, "To their credit, all four of them winced and fidgeted, and one covered his head in shame."

Kuttub portrays himself scoring point after virtuous point against the stumbling and culpable Israeli adversary. And all of it conveyed to *Times* readers as the "absolutely literal" utterances of the parties.

According to the Israelis at the meeting, it was understood that, in an effort to promote an informal and instructive atmosphere, no official records were to be made of the negotiations. As far as the Israelis know, no tape recording was made of the sessions.

Yet the *Times* column contains extensive passages of what are purported to be direct quotes from the meeting, such as the following, which begins

with Kuttub quoting himself:

"You would not turn an Israeli over to a country like Saudi Arabia where the thief can have his hand cut off. would you?"

"No, we would not."

"Then why should I turn over my citizens to your jurisdiction where torture is the order of the day?"

"But we allow Israelis to be extradited to France and the United States."

"I would be willing to have Palestinians extradited to France and the United States as well, but with all due respect, you do not fit in that category at all."

Kuttub is continually instructing the subject Israelis, as when he declares: "Very frankly, we want to know that individuals we turn over to you are not tortured. Do you want us to turn over suspects for trial or also for interrogation?"

"For interrogation as well as trial."

"But with all due respect, you do not know how to interrogate. All you know is how to beat a confession out of somebody."

"You are only speaking about military courts and military trials. We promise to treat all these people under existing civilian laws applicable in the Israeli courts. We are a democracy and you know we have certain guarantees for the rights of defendants."

"I know all about those guarantees. You seem to forget that I practice in Israeli courts."

Kuttub reworks and edits what happened at the negotiating session into a righteous attack on Israel, an attack the *Times* considered constructive to publicize without consulting the Israelis in attendance. But what, in fact, did happen at the meeting?

THE ISRAELI version, as reported in a letter from one of the Israeli participants in the negotiations, differs profoundly from Kuttub's as a *Times* editor could have discovered with a phone call. Israeli participants agree that Kuttub used the sessions as a platform for leveling charges against Israel, but they viewed his allegations as theatrics, digressions from the practical aims of the meeting, which were to

hammer out agreement on legal issues.

They did not sit silently in the face of the allegations of torture and abuse, as Kuttub would have it; they denied the charges. They did not, however, want the session to degenerate into a debate on these issues and for that reason restrained themselves from responding in detail, preferring to try to steer the session back to the stated agenda.

They did not imagine Kuttub would violate the confidentiality of the meeting in submitting his version to the *Times*, nor did they, of course, imagine the paper would print Kuttub's account without any fact-checking.

Not only is Kuttub's fictionalized version a caricature of the personal interactions of the group, it is also a highly misleading rendition of the substantive issues. For example, when, in response to Kuttub's denunciations of Israeli justice, the Israeli negotiators proposed that any Palestinian suspects transferred to Israeli authority would be guaranteed the same rights and treatment they would receive in the Gaza Strip and Jericho under the Palestinian Authority, Kuttub and his colleagues admitted this safeguard would be insufficient.

Indeed, in the course of negotiations, Israel has proposed detailed and stringent human-rights guarantees to be applied uniformly by Israelis and Palestinians. The Palestinians have refused such provisions, opting for far more limited protections. The real story here was that while Kuttub railed against Israel in dramatic condemnations it was Israeli negotiators who sought to introduce strong legal protections for Palestinians and it was Palestinian negotiators who vetoed them.

While Israeli delegates waited out the rhetorical grandstanding of the Palestinian "human-rights advocate," waited with concrete offers of detailed guarantees, Kuttub's agenda remained what it has been throughout his career: to assault Israel with whatever means are at hand.

That career is not mentioned in the column's introductory paragraph written by a *Times* editor. There, Kuttub is identified simply as "a 42-year-old Palestinian lawyer" who "led the Palestin-

ians' legal committee."

Passed over in silence is his role as a founder of the self-styled human-rights organization Al Haq, a group whose agenda is the castigation of Israel. Co-founder Raja Shehadeh's venomous attacks on Israel once prompted Meron Benvenisti, a frequent critic of Israeli policies, to recoil from the "hatred that does not know any bounds, and that blinds the eyes of the... fighter for human rights." He deplored Shehadeh's resort to "groundless propaganda that he hears and fabricates."

Not surprisingly, the *Times* omits other elements of Kuttub's record that would cast doubt on his lawyerly integrity. Excluded, for example, is his rationalization of collaborator killings by Palestinians as necessary because "the intifada leadership does not have any jails." (Kuttub's article of September 10, 1989, in *The Jerusalem Post*.)

Likewise, the *Times* omits such episodes as one reported by Martin Peretz in *The New Republic*. Addressing a group of visiting dignitaries, Kuttub denounced Israeli medical authorities for their callous failure to immunize Arab babies against polio during an outbreak of the disease. Unfortunately for Kuttub, the group had just come from the Sheikh Jarrah Medical Center, a facility built by the Jerusalem Foundation, where they had watched Arab babies receiving polio vaccine provided by Israel.

When asked whether the *Times* had done anything to verify the accuracy of the quotations and substance of Kuttub's column, *New York Times* editor Marc Charney replied, "We had no reason to doubt Kuttub."

To me, this indicated that the *Times* has sunk to a point where polemicists such as Kuttub are allowed to publish patently distorted and misleading material only because the paper is sympathetic to their views. Following my call, the *Times* published an "Editor's Note" on July 3, four weeks after the appearance of the Kuttub piece. It stated: "...the lengthy dialogue quoted in the article was reconstructed from Mr. Kuttub's notes and memory. That should have been made clear, and quotation marks should not have been used."

The writer is chairman of CAMERA, Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America.

BRULIK

by DOSH

Yasser let them all down

VIEW FROM NOV
MOSHE KOHN



MANY PUNDITS describe Arafat's "homecoming" speech as a "disappointment" to all. His own followers are said to be disappointed over his failure to repeat his call for at least eventual jihad.

Opponents of our government's capitulationism are said to be disappointed for the same reason, as such a call would presumably have bolstered their call for elections and an end to the capitulation process.

Our government leaders presumably are disappointed that the PLO godfather did not at long last renounce the 15 anti-Jewish clauses in the PLO Charter, and call for an end to Arab terrorism and the anti-Israeli boycott.

Those pundits believe the value of Arafat's speech lies precisely in that "neutrality," which, they maintain, calmed the atmosphere. "I don't see anything 'neutral' or calming in Arafat's

failure to greet the Israeli government or people, except when, in closing, he sent 'hearty blessings to our brethren in the Negev Desert and Galilee'."

calling the capitulationist (on our part) Oslo/Cairo agreements "the best we can get in the worst situation";

declaring that "we here in Gaza are on our way to the Haran a-Sharif [Temple Mount], on our way to Nabulus ... Beit Jalla and Ramallah, and from there, after Hebron, to Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Jerusalem!";

calling Jerusalem "the first site, the site of the Prophet Mohammed and the birthplace of Jesus."

Of course, it is only according to a later Muslim tradition that Mohammed paid a visit, a brief one, to Jerusalem. And Jesus, as far as everyone else knows, was born in Bethlehem.

Furthermore, why did that born-again peace-lover omit Patriarch Abraham: David who made Jerusalem the capital of the United Israelite Kingdom 3,000 years ago; the Temple whose site the Moslems have usurped for more than 13 centuries?

Equally ominous was the throng's greeting when Arafat arrived in the Jabalya refugee camp. They shouted: "With our soul and our blood we will redeem you, ya Abu Amar [Arafat's nom de guerre]!" and "With our soul and our blood we will redeem you, Palestine!"

He certainly didn't "calm" them down the way Rabin and Peres "calm" Jews shouting parallel slogans.

continued to derogue the *Post*. When she pointed out that the article had originated in *Ha'aretz*, Peres not only continued to derogue the *Post*, but also dismissed Megged, a veteran Labor supporter, saying, "He's just writing whatever he feels like!"

A member of the audience made several interjections during Peres's talk over his initial reluctance to state explicitly that Israel would recognize no PLO political claim to or in Jerusalem. This man also objected to Peres's disparagement of Jews living in Judea/Samaria/the Gaza District, and his dismissal of their concern over what would happen to them when the "Palestinian entity" was established.

Peres had said, for example, that there was nothing so terrible about Jews living "in the autonomy" just as they live in places like California and Oregon, which are "also independent."

After the session, Mendel Kaplan, chairman of the Jewish Agency Board of Governors, chided that man for his "rudeness" in interrupting Peres, and called him a "zealot."

Other Diaspora brothers and sisters chimed in, "Yes, you're a zealot."

I wonder how many of them know the origin of that epithet.

UNNOTICED in last weekend's arafatous hubbub was publication of the findings of a June 27 public-opinion poll showing that 49 percent of Israeli Jews want elections this year.

Thirty-five percent did not want elections now, and 16 percent did not respond.

The poll was conducted by the Hanoch Smith Research Center for IMRA - Independent Media Review and Analysis.

Dr. Joseph Lerner, head of IMRA, said that if one assumes that those who did not respond were nonvoters, 58 percent of the electorate want elections this year.

The interviewees were asked what significance they attached to Arafat's May 10 call in Johannesburg for jihad and assertion that Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine, not of Israel.

Thirty-six percent thought it was significant and grounds for suspending negotiations with the PLO, 24 percent thought it was significant but negotiations should continue, and 26 percent agreed with Rabin and Peres that it wasn't significant. Fourteen percent didn't respond.

After the wandering, the homecoming

SHABBAT SHALOM

SHLOMO RISKIN

"And they journeyed from Livnah and pitched in Rissah. And they journeyed from Rissah and pitched in Kehelatah. And they journeyed from Kehelatah and pitched in Mount Shefer. And they journeyed from Mount Shefer and pitched in Haradah. And they journeyed from Haradah and pitched in Mak'helot."

(Numbers 33:3-37)

TO the modern ear, some sections in the Torah sound as if they could use editing. However, a basic dictum of the tradition of Sinai is that every word is necessary. Not one letter alone word — is superfluous.

This has to be kept in mind when we come across passages like the opening chapter in this week's double portion of *Matot-Mass'ei*, with its listing of all the encampments of the Jews during their 40 years in the desert. The quotation above is only the beginning of the list: Elim, Dofka, Alush, Refidim, Hazeroth, Ritmah.... The Torah gives us the names of all 42 camps in virtually the same repetitive style.

Invariably, the reader will ask himself: Why the listing of all these difficult-to-pronounce place names, the majority of which appear nowhere else in the Torah? And, indeed, it is as if the Torah itself second-guesses our difficulty, specifically stating: "Moses wrote their goings forth, stage by stage, by the commandment of the Lord." (Num. 33:2)

According to Nahmanides, it was God Himself who commanded Moses to write these journeys down, "stage by stage" in exact and accurate sequence.

Rashi explains that the Israelite encampments are detailed in such a way in order to teach us the extent of divine compassion for our ancestors. Since there were 14 stopping-points in the first year and eight in the last, the bulk of 38 years in the desert occasioned only 20 journeys — allowing plenty of rest time.

The Sforim sees the catalog of wanderings as a compliment to the generation of the desert, which "moved and rested in accordance

with the will of the Almighty. In his *Guide for the Perplexed* (Part III, Chapter 50), Maimonides suggests two reasons for this detailed account. First of all, the great medieval philosopher argues, later generations may come to doubt the accuracy of the biblical story, questioning the historical veracity of the early Israelite experiences.

Such geographic precision allows later generations to confirm the accuracy of a document more than 3,500 years old, preserving the exact route of our ancestors. Moreover, as a result of such record-keeping, the Exodus from Egypt and the subsequent 40 years of wandering in the desert force us to confront the logistics of 600,000 people surviving for so long in a harsh and arid landscape. This naturally sets the stage for the great miracle of the manna.

Secondly, adds Maimonides, were the 42 camps not detailed, we might be left with the impression that although the entire desert was significant, each individual place was far less significant. Consequently the Torah comes to teach us that each and every place in which the Israelites stopped was important in its own right.

MAIMONIDES'S insight assumes added significance in light of the rabbinic dictum that the actions of our ancestors serve as a sign — a presaging — of what will happen to their descendants.

Without stretching the imagination too much, the 40 years of wandering in the desert before arriving in the Promised Land can be seen as a prefiguration of the Israelites' wandering throughout the "deserts" of the world — not just for 40 but for nearly 2,000 years, before eventually arriving at the gates of the Promised Land in our own time.

The two journeys, one relatively short and the other perilously long, have much in common. In the early stages of the Zionist dream, there was a significant movement which wanted to forget the entire experience of exile, casting it off like a soiled garment that had sullied the authentic biblical Jews.

With this attitude came antagonism for Yiddish and Ladino and contempt for all the customs — musical, cultural, emotional and, especially, religious — that had evolved over 2,000 years in exile. To this day, there is an uneasy truce between the modern Israeli's search for an indigenous Israeli culture carved in the shadow of Western imaginings, and the more traditional arguments of society which often glorify the past Jewish cultures of Lublin and Vilna, Fez and Yemen.

Maimonides is saying that the reason the 42 places are mentioned in the Torah is that they are significant in defining the totality of the Jewish personality.

When we speak of our wander-

ings, we have the right and the duty to state proudly: "We camped in Sura, and we camped in Alexandria; we camped in Seville, and we camped in Amsterdam. We camped in Tangiers, and we camped in Constantinople. We camped in Cracow and we camped in Belz. We camped in London and we camped in New York City...."

Each of our encampments was important, because each added to our composite culture, to our unique experience. Each added to the corpus of Torah and custom which is our legacy.

Our 2,000 years of exile should not, therefore, be viewed as a blurred nightmare of persecutions and pogroms, a series of undifferentiated comings and goings, but rather as made up of specific stopping points where God commanded us to make camp until His next decree that we journey again.

In each place we suffered and survived, learned and taught, preserved and created, endured and emboldened.

And if we add to this insight the notion that the nation of Israel must learn from the desert/exile experience that its movements from place to place have all been in accordance with the divine will, can anyone doubt that our exile has concluded, and that we must make for our final destination — the Promised Land of Israel?

We must learn from our wanderings — but we must also learn when to cease wandering.

It's time to come home.

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Losers in bearish market can learn from Americans

The Securities Authority can control only some of the irregularities in the market, and small investors must be cautious, Neil Cohen writes

WHEN the stock market was rising, everyone was happy and nobody thought of checking how other people were investing their money for them. Now, after stocks have fallen 40%, and many people are nursing heavy losses, local investors may learn from their American counterparts and examine more closely what is done with their money.

If markets head south, there is little investors can do. Those who are nervous or cannot afford losses should not be in the market. But everyone has a right to expect that the market will be an even playing field, and that their money will be handled with care and invested as they were told it would be.

Recent investigations into alleged share-ramping by portfolio managers and some bank employees have scratched the surface of wrongdoing in the market. What is unclear is what and how much there is below that surface.

The US experience suggests that it may be a considerable amount. During the past few months, phones have been ringing off the hook at the Woodland Hills, California, headquarters of Investors Arbitration Services.

"Investors complain they have been misled by fund managers,"

William Levine, chief executive of the company, which represents shareholders in court disputes, told Reuters this week. Grievances range from not being told up front how much commissions will be, to complaints of little or no warning that funds are investing in risky derivatives, he said.

Derivatives are investment instruments whose value is derived from, or linked to, swings in interest rates, currency rates, commodity prices or stock prices.

Recently, a number of funds have taken hits after using derivatives in an effort to boost their returns, forcing some to make cash injections or purchase fund shares or securities to cover the losses.

Consumers are not alone in raising the alarm. Federal regulators are also concerned, although they caution investors not to act rashly.

Reacting to news stories of mutual-fund losses, Securities and Exchange Commissioner Arthur Levitt asked the mutual-fund industry's lobby group what steps fund managers had taken to address the risks involved.

Concerns have arisen in the US amid declines in mutual-fund asset values as well as the growing use of derivatives. Derivatives are less developed in Israel - although trading in Maof-index options be-

gan recently - and are therefore less of an issue here. No major losses resulting from trading in these instruments have been published to date, although that did not stop some people from blaming the TASE's June plunge on trading in Maof options.

However, as the derivatives market develops here, as it surely will, the Securities Authority will have to develop methods for regulating the market and protecting investors.

But other issues which have been exercising US regulators are more immediately relevant here. In April, a top US bank regulator proposed having the federal government use undercover "testers" to check if banks, brokerages and mutual fund firms were adequately warning customers of the risks of mutual funds.

This issue was addressed here this week by Supervisor of Banks Meir Abeles, who forbade banks from pushing credit to customers so that they would buy the bank's securities products - usually mutual funds.

Other issues that have arisen in the US include restrictions on fund managers buying stocks in which the funds they manage also invest. The fund manager profits by buying a stock for his personal account and then buying it for the



Everyone has a right to expect that the market will be an even playing field. (Alan Ron Israel Sent)

funds he manages, thus causing the price to rise.

Israel's Securities Authority has increased its efforts to crack down on irregularities in the market, but it is limited by the inadequate resources at its disposal and the Byzantine norms of the market.

Unfortunately, small investors are the most vulnerable to malpractice. They just do not have the resources to establish whether they have been the victims of sharp practice. Nonetheless, some enterprising lawyers have filed class-action suits (which represent

all the shareholders in a particular company) against companies for a variety of alleged offenses. The banks whose clients were involved in the share-pushing episodes uncovered recently have undertaken to compensate customers or fundholders who were harmed by the share pushing. What is not clear is who will determine the loss, and on what basis.

The Treasury is slowly pushing mutual and provident funds toward fuller and more frequent disclosure of their holdings: as investors become more sophisticated,

and when they lose money, they are more likely to scrutinize these reports for irregularities.

But much remains opaque. The concentration of financial and industrial ownership in a relatively limited number of hands, and the ubiquity and enormous power of the banks mean that conflicts of interest and opportunities for malfeasance abound. Israeli investors are learning the hard way that practices and regulation in the local securities markets still leave much to be desired.

Some ways to avoid pitfalls

WHAT to look out for:
• Churning. If you have your money with a portfolio manager or trade on the advice of a broker, check how often he is buying and selling. The more transactions he carries out, the more commissions he earns and the more you pay.

• If he is buying and selling frequently he is probably churning your portfolio. Unless he is a brilliant trader. If the portfolio is turning over more than once a year, demand explanations, or get a new broker.

• Shares, especially small ones, that zoom upwards. Someone may be ramping (artificially manipulating) them; when the music stops you may find yourself without a chair (and without quite a lot of your money).

• Find out why the share is behaving like this. If there isn't a good reason, sell quickly.

• Look at the holdings of your president or mutual fund. Find out if the manager (most likely your bank) has an interest in, or has a lending or underwriting relationship with, the company. It may be stuffing the fund, or indeed your portfolio, with stock it cannot sell elsewhere.

• Read all prospectuses very carefully. Make sure you're clear on the fees you're paying.

• Don't be seduced by a sure thing - there is no such animal; don't be pushed into doing something you're not sure about.

• If in doubt, don't be afraid to ask, preferably a lawyer or an accountant. N.C.

Fixed rates are history

LONDON - Central banks have wised up to foreign-exchange gyrations after a year of crises, and traders say the way they manage money now is the best way forward.

Fifty years after the failed Bretton Woods accord set fixed exchange rates, authorities still aspire to currency stability.

But a run of crises has shown fixed rates do not work, traders say.

Instead, the future lies in subtle shepherding.

"But if [authorities] try to manage rates too closely they'll find they actually create more volatility as they did in the ERM crisis," said a senior trader at a German bank in London.

Nearly a year after Europe's Exchange Rate Mechanism was torn apart by tensions, ERM currencies slip quietly in and out of their old 2.25 percent bands. With fluctuation limits of plus or minus 15 percent, they are now as good as floating.

"The bands have provided greater stability rather than reduced stability," said Robert Loewy, head of foreign exchange at Midland Global Markets in London.

Nevertheless the search for a formula for global stability goes on. The Bretton Woods Committee, led by former US Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker, is proposing that larger industrial

nations move toward a system of flexible exchange-rate bands.

The commission is to release a report on the issue around July 22 to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the 1944 Bretton Woods conference which set up the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and GATT world trading system.

But senior traders say central banks are already managing rates and working within unpublicized trading bands.

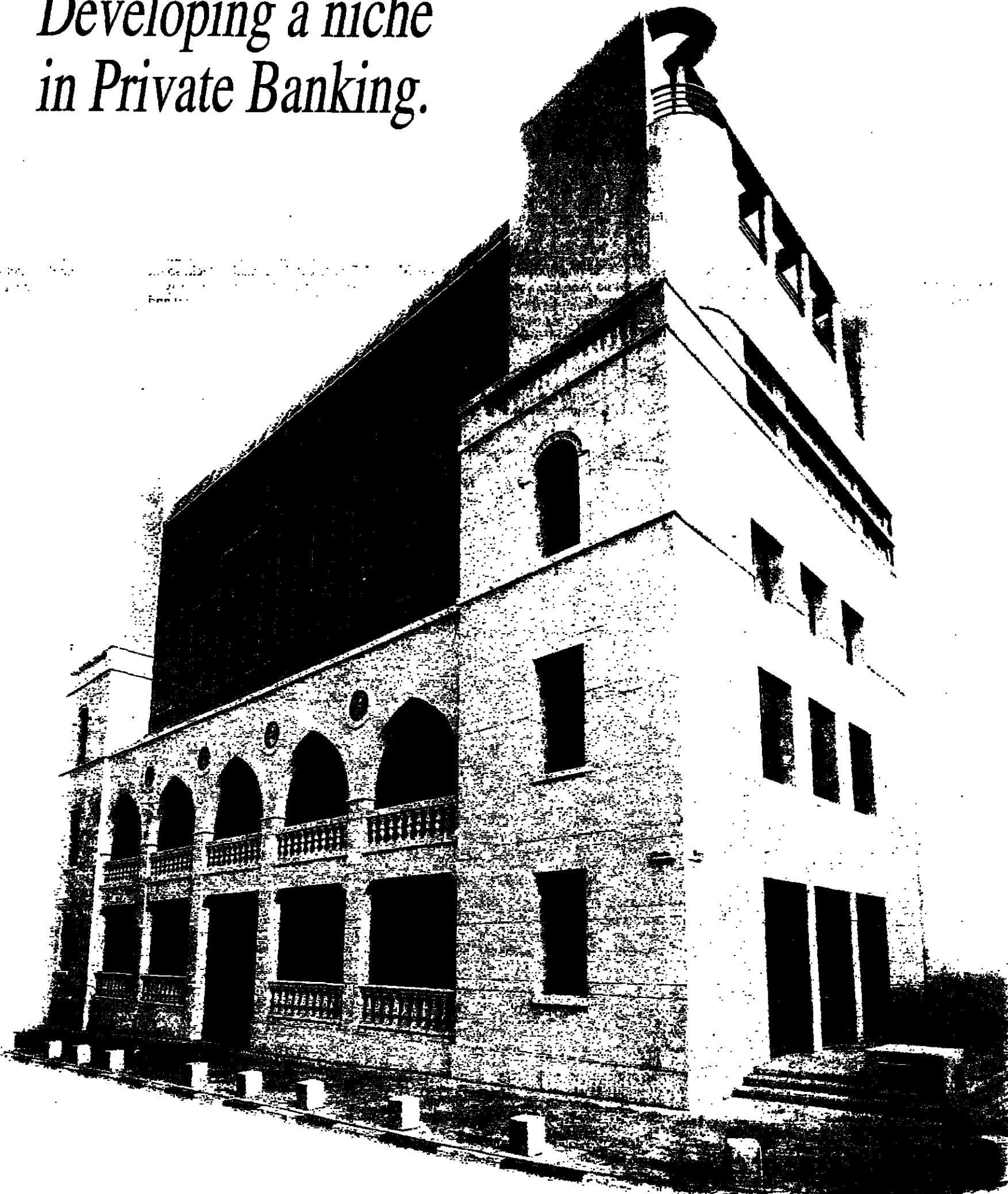
The senior trader at the German bank said central banks are already working within "fuzzy-edged" bands, setting approximate target ranges rather than the rigid boundaries of the ERM.

"They are letting the edges become more diffused. They are allowing... overshoot, if it's in an orderly fashion," he said. "They're not trying to affect the fundamental flows because they realize they can't. They're just trying to take out the speculative element.... It's a smoothing operation."

Central banks no longer tend to harden intervention levels because they are worried about giving the market targets. "Also they try not to go so much against the fundamentals," he said.

Dealers argue that central banks are less perturbed by exchange rate fluctuations today than by turbulent bond markets. (Reuters)

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the world's best players: Benito Garozzo of Rome. He was, in fact, my birthday present, a gift from a friend. We played in a small duplicate, which preceded a much more glamorous match.

The occasion was a big-money tournament in Las Vegas in which a challenge match was taking place between the Dallas Aces and the Italian Blue Team. The year was 1971 and today's hand is a famous deal from that match. Two all-time great players, Bob Hamman and Pietro Forquet, sat East, and were faced with a critical decision for the defense.

Hamman was at Table 1, where Giorgio Belladonna opened the bidding one heart with only seven high-card points. Paul Soloway, sitting West, overcalled in clubs and Walter Avarrelli, North, bid two diamonds. Belladonna retreated to two hearts and Avarrelli probed with a forcing cuebid of three clubs. Belladonna repeated his hearts for a third time and his partner took the hint, raising to four.

The opening lead was the king of clubs. Hamman, sitting East, played the deuce and his partner shifted to the king of spades. This was followed by the queen of spades, and when this won the trick, West reverted to a trump. Declarer was now able to discard three of his spades on dummy's ace, king, queen of diamonds, scoring his four-heart contract.

At Table 2, the auction was swifter, but so was the defense. South, Bobby Wolff, opened the bidding four hearts and Garozzo, West, led the same king of clubs. Forquet, East, was then placed in the same position as Hamman at Table 1. Garozzo cashed the king of spades and followed with the queen of spades.

Forquet then reasoned as follows: "My partner must have a count on the club suit, and if there were a second club to cash, he would have cashed it before trying the second spade. That being so, the contract can be defeated only if we can score three spade tricks. Since we both know that with K-Q-x or K-Q-x-x partner would have followed the king of spades with a low spade lead, the king followed by the queen can only mean K-Q-J-x, in which case it does not matter if I overtake with the ace, or... is it possible? Could declarer really have opened the bidding four hearts with a side five-card major?"

Forquet overtook the queen of spades with his ace and returned a spade for his partner to ruff. This was the setting trick, and for this successful play Forquet was credited with the "hand of the match."



Animals that have antlers, which are shed annually, appear related to those with horns, which are permanent, but are a world apart phylogenetically.

Skin-deep lookalikes

NATURE

D'VORA BEN SHAUL

JUST because certain animals bear some resemblance to each other does not indicate that they are related in any but the most superficial sense. Yet this tendency to look at the exterior is one of the major pitfalls for the amateur naturalist.

For instance, hedgehogs and porcupines both have quills (as do birds and even other mammals of the monotreme class, such as duck-billed platypuses and the echidnas). But the distance between a hedgehog and a porcupine is immense, far greater than the distance between, say, a rabbit and an elephant.

The hedgehog is an insectivore, although it also eats some meats, in addition to insects. The porcupine is a vegetarian, or herbivore. The only thing they have in common is that they are both mammals and both have a combination of hair and quills.

Then there are the creatures that burrow in the garden. One, not found here, is the mole (in Hebrew, *hafarperet*).

In this country we have mole rats. They are totally different. The mole rats eat worms and insects; the mole rat eats plant roots. Both leave tunnels in the garden and both have thick coats, minuscule eyes and shovel-like front feet. But phylogenetically they are a world apart.

This confusion extends to other animals. Sometimes the closeness is greater, as in the

case of cows, sheep, goats, deer and antelopes, not to mention swine. All of these animals have a cloven or split hoof and, except for the swine, all have horns.

Also, except for swine they are all ruminants, with intricate systems of multiple stomachs, and they chew the cud, or ruminate. They are all mammals. Are they alike? Not really.

First of all, there are two distinct types of horns, the horn and the antelope. Deer have antlers. They grow them annually and shed them at the end of the breeding season.

Cows, sheep, goats (including ibex and mouflon) as well as all antelopes have horns. They do not shed them, but continue to grow them throughout their lives. This is so general that even giraffes, which are antelopes, have atavistic horns that are covered by their fur.

So here we are, alike as mammals, alike as ungulates, alike as ruminants, but far apart.

Swine fall in a separate class of animals that have cloven hooves but are not ruminants and have no horns. They are similar only as mammals and as to having hooves.

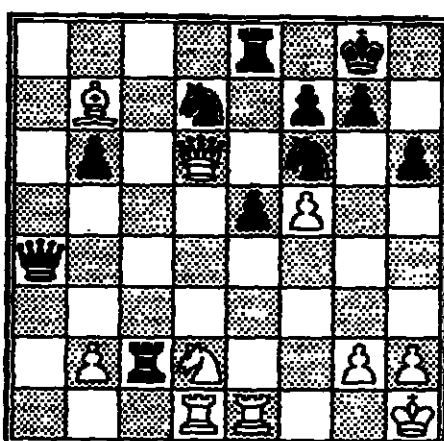
If all of this makes one wonder, just consider that nature has made the absolute best of the possible permutations and that we, as students of nature, may look and wonder and forever be amazed.

What the camera saw

CHESS

NIGEL DAVIES

BOBBY Fischer's tirade of abuse against Anatoly Karpov and Gary Kasparov during the news conference before his second match with Boris Spassky was not taken seriously at the time. After all, Fischer has been screaming about "cheating Russians" for years. But could there have been just a grain of truth in his apparently wild accusations?



This position arose in the game between Bobby Fischer, playing White, and Kasparov in Round 4 of this year's Linares tournament. After White's 36th move, with both players having around three minutes to reach the time control on move 40, Kasparov picked up the d7 knight and put it on c5, which unfortunately for him allows 37.Bc6, skewering queen and rook.

Noticing his error, Kasparov then moved the knight to f8. But controversy arose as to whether or not his hand left the piece, in which case the move 36...Nc5 should have stood. The actual continuation was: 36...Nf8 37.Ne4 N8d7 38.Nxf6+ Nxf6 39.Qxb6 Ng4 40.Rf1 e4 41.Bd5 e3 42.Bb3 Qe4 43.Bxc2 Qxc2 44.Rd8 Rxd8 45.Qxd8+ Kh7 46.Qe7 Qe4 0-1.

After the game he said: "My conscience is clear. I was never conscious of my hand leaving the piece." But it just so happened that a TV company from Madrid, making a film about chess, happened to be filming the game at the crucial moment. Later on they showed their film to the president of the Spanish Chess Federation, Roman Toran, and this confirmed that Kasparov's fingers had in fact left the knight.

No action was taken against him, but it was clear that Kasparov had contravened the rules. The rest, as they say, was history.

The FIDE World Champion, Karpov, went on to win the tournament with one of the outstanding results in chess history, while Kasparov could only share a distant second with Alexei Shirov. But before we paint Karpov as a knight in shining armor, let us move on a couple of months to another Spanish tournament in Dos Hermanas.

In the first round Karpov had the better of it against Manuel Rivas, but in a mad time-scramble had to evacuate his king to the queenside, the Spaniard's queen and knight in hot pursuit. Suddenly Karpov's flag fell, and because the arbiter had not been able to keep track of the moves, the

players were asked to make up the score sheets.

They did so, and Rivas produced a copy of his showing 39 moves, in which case Karpov would have lost on time. But Karpov's press-sheet included a couple of extra queen-side moves, indicating that 41 moves had been played, passing the time control by a single move. After a long discussion, Rivas offered a draw which Karpov accepted.

How many moves were actually played? It is difficult to establish this without a side camera. But Boris Gelfand made it clear in what he thought of this incident, requesting that his next round game with Karpov should be recorded on video. Here, for the record, is the 39-move version.

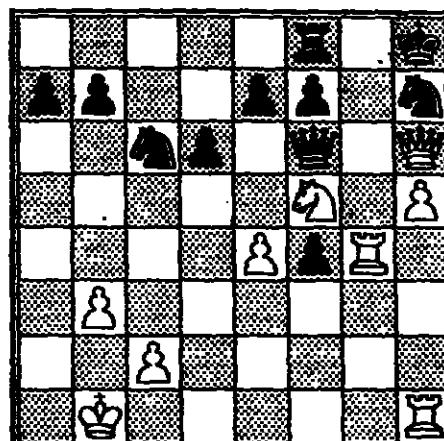
Rivas, M - Karpov, A

King's Indian Defense

1.e4 e5 2.Nc3 Nf6 3.e3 d6 4.d4 Nbd7 5.Nf3 g6 6.Be2 Bg7 7.0-0 0-0 8.b4 Re8 9.a4 exd4 10.exd4 Nf8 11.Ra3 c6 12.d5 a5 13.bxa5 Rxa5 14.Rel cxd5 15.exd5 N8d7 16.Bf5 Rxe1+ 17.Qxe1 Nf6 18.Bg5 Ra8 19.Ne4 Bf5 20.Nxf6+ Bxf6 21.Rc3 Bd7 22.Bxd7 Nxd7 23.b4 Kg7 24.Qb4 Bxg5 25.hxg5 Nc5 26.Ra3 Qd7 27.Qf4 Rxa4 28.Rxa4 Nxa4 29.Nh2 Kf8 30.Qd4 Qb5 31.Ng4 Ke8 32.Nh6 Nf6 33.Qh8+ Kd7 34.Nxf7 Qxd5 35.Qd8+ Kc6 36.Qe7 Kc5 37.Qe3+ Kc6 38.Nd8+ Kf5 39.Qe2+ Ne4 1/2-1/2

Is it a sign of the times that the most revered players are the ones that get to "the top," and nobody really gives a damn how they do it? But as Lily Tomlin once put it, "The trouble with the rat race is that even if you win, you're still a rat."

If chess is coming to symbolize winning at any cost, then who needs it? If it has any intrinsic value, then surely it is to act as a testing ground in which people develop and grow in constructive ways. And those we call "champions" should be there to set a good example.



THE PROBLEM this week is from a 1975 game, Bach-Botto. White to play and win (solution beneath diagram).

Solution: White's h-pawn blocks his attack, so the trick is to somehow get it out of the way. White managed to do this with 1.Rg6! and after 1...fxg6 (1...Qe5 2.Oxh7+ Kxh7 3.Rh6+ Kg8 4.Rg1+ leads to mate) 2.hxg6 Rf7 there came the sting in the tail: 3.Qf6+! Rxf6 4.Rxh7+ Kg8 5.Nh6 mate.

Music makes helping a pleasure

WE are very pleased that the visit of the Philadelphia Youth Orchestra gives us a chance to work with our one-time benefactor, UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund.

UNICEF raises money around the world for children in underdeveloped countries.

In the early days of the state, UNICEF supported various projects here, but now that we are looked upon as a developed country, it directs its funds to those in greater need.

Still, my daily mailbox underscores the need for help here with dozens of appeals from social workers, deprived children, old folks and new immigrants just surviving in a sea of plenty.

The three concerts the PYO is giving will enable us to enjoy the music of Brahms, Smetana, Copland, Bernstein and Rachmaninoff and at the same time give to a very worthwhile cause, knowing that the money raised will be spent in relieving poverty both here and in faraway places.

I look forward to seeing you all on the three nights, but in the meantime I look expectantly to the mail for dozens of envelopes with contributions, enabling us to continue doing good work. Remember, every little bit helps.

Send your checks today to: The Jerusalem Post Funds, POB 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

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NIS 200 David Biring, Anon., J.M. In honor of the 85th birthday of Elisabeth Steinetz, with our best wishes for health and active life.

NIS 100 For Judy's birthday - Monny and Miriam Landy, J.M.

NIS 100 Stephanie Michael, Tel Aviv.

NIS 90 in honor of Lilo Weiss's 90th birthday - from her Friday bridge, Clara, Yehudi and Loni.

NIS 75 N.N., Mount Carmel.

NIS 50 in memory of my dear ones - Sylvia Ark, J.M. In memory of my parents, Sydney and Marcie Bades - Marlene West.

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NIS 45 in memory of Rabbi Israel Egon Lowenstein - Ruth and Max Friedlander, J.M.

NIS 30 Janice Bitansky, J.M. In honor of the 85th birthday of Elisabeth Steinetz - Tony Steinert, Tel Aviv.

NIS 25 Mr. and Mrs. Harold Levine, J.M. Happy birthday to our "young" 97-year-old cousin, Rose Wolf - Ahava Nathan, Deganya Alef, Happy 75th birthday to our uncle, Nathan Katz - Ahava Nathan, Deganya Alef.

\$2,000 The Maddy Foundation, Syracuse, NY.

\$1,300 H.L. Yeo, Singapore.

\$191.59 Proceeds from the Freidenreich Trust.

\$100 To honor of my friends at Ein Hashofet - Iris Portnoy, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.

\$50 Beatrice Davis, Baltimore, MD.

\$40 Hilda and Miss Suzanne Bickel, Palm Springs, CA.

\$26 Anon., Skokie, IL.

\$25 E.W. and Helen Woodham, Newport, AR.

\$20 Morris Elvavski, Istanbul, Turkey.

\$15 Virginia Randall, Scottsdale, AZ.

\$10 In honor of Ester's 70th birthday - G. and R. Dinstein, London, England.

\$50 Richard and Julia Rabin, Edmonton, Canada.

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\$w.Kr.2,000 Mrs. D. Heger, Huddinge, Sweden.

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NIS 180 in memory of Lilian Falkoff - Laurie and Chaim Falkoff, J.M.

NIS 100 For Judy's birthday - Monny and Miriam Landy, J.M.

NIS 60 Margal Tov to Shalom and Faith (Fruma) Cohen of Kibbutz Ein Hamaiziv on the birth of Achva, may you have much happiness from her and the rest of the family.

English department at Sde Elyahu School.

NIS 30 in memory of my dear ones - Sylvia Ark, J.M. N.N., Tel Aviv.

WELCOME HOME FUND

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\$50 Joan Nathan Gerson, Washington, DC. In honor of my grandchildren, who live in Israel - Jessica Lang, Lebanon, NH.

\$36 In honor of the birth of Dara, granddaughter of our dear friends, Lilian and Alberto Alperin and daughter of Mimi and Matt Lehrer of Tucson, AZ. - Anita and Nathan Viskin, Mexico.

\$30 In honor of our son Daniel - Audrey and Wayne Korman, Santa Barbara, CA.

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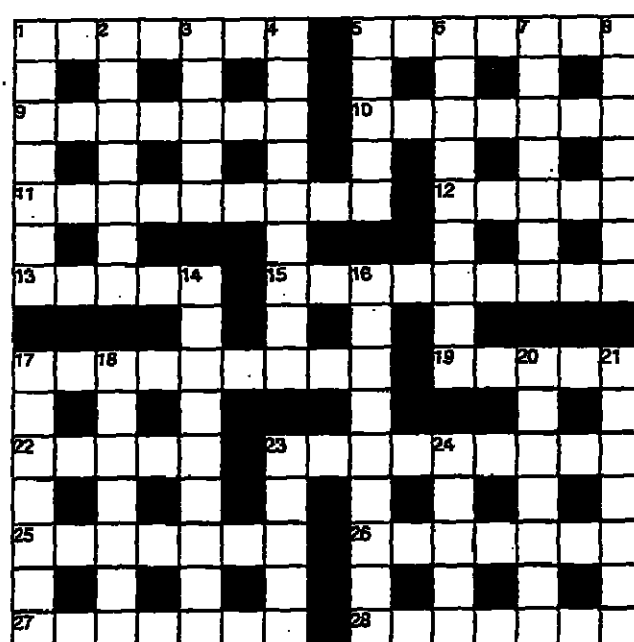
CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- Music master giving out - most unusual (7)
- For the small child everything is material (7)
- Considering including the French gag (7)
- A seaman only gets seafood (7)
- Smacks like a priest possibly (9)
- In spring dry weather may bring some warmth (5)
- Woman writing Greek a letter from Greece (5)
- Checked about papers with the top man (9)
- Quick stop, as the organisation allows (9)
- Finish about right - that's the way! (5)
- He'll put on a youngster with little hesitation (5)
- Setting out carrying cash is astounding (9)
- Smoke in church and there's much anger (7)
- Beginning in it, one joins a trainee (7)
- People in the wrong and suffering as a result (7)
- Impetuous theatre-goers, all dressed in grey perhaps (7)

DOWN

- A half-wild horse is bound to broken-down nag (7)
- Note cuts and note concealment (7)
- Course taken in private normally (5)
- Reverses open vessels (9)
- Many a girl appears kind (5)
- Men at work on the exterior of some flat (9)
- She has her pride! (7)
- Stopped with supporters (7)
- Cheered an ensemble, being a fan (9)
- Ordering trimming with fabric lining (9)
- An off-hand forecaster (7)
- Mixed drink for a fellow-traveller (7)
- Obstinate, which is a crime in the East (7)
- Walker's merged with a collaborator as permitted (7)
- Exhausted holy man shown around prison (5)
- Threshold examination (5)



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O H H G A A E
T H E S E S Q U I C K O N E
E I N A H M R G
N O M A D S D E T O M A T E

Yesterday's Quick Solution
ACROSS: 7 Affair, 8 Amount, 10 Morris, 11 Rain, 12 Lion, 13 Could, 17 Still, 18 Blue, 23 Alton, 23 Narrative, 24 Double, 25 Defect.

DOWN: 1 Barnard, 2 Affront, 3 Digit, 4 Emerald, 5 Quail, 6 Steep, 9 Aeroplane, 14 Steep, 15 Blesser, 16 Beneath, 19 Sandy, 20 Bogus, 21 Greek.

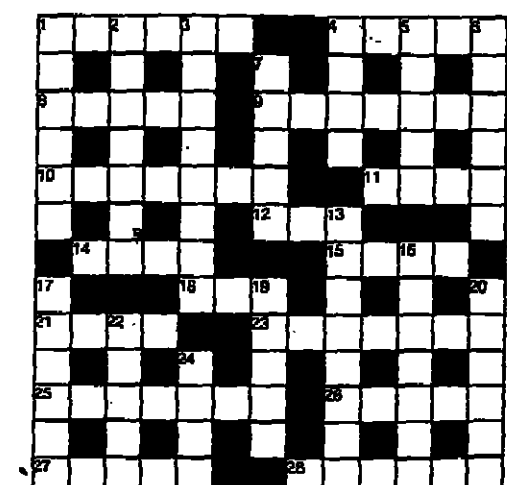
QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- Overlooked (5)
- Haste (5)
- Male bee (5)
- Love story (7)
- Clap (7)
- Require (4)
- Finish (3)
- Unaccompanied (4)
- Lazy (4)
- Regret (3)
- Burden (3)
- Retort (7)
- Ingenious (7)
- Rule (5)
- Weird (5)
- Mendicant (5)

DOWN

- Noon (8)
- Zodiacal sign (7)
- Lift (3)
- Residence (4)
- Wash (5)
- Codes (5)
- Commerce (5)
- Scatter (5)
- Durable (7)
- Delight (7)
- Rub out (5)
- Slimmer (5)
- Change (5)
- Lake (4)



When in Rome, do as the Romans do: Snooze and snack

TRAVEL

ALLISON KAPLAN SOMMER

ROME in summer is not really Rome. It is more like Disneyland, packed with an international crowd seeing the historic sights, together with a few unlucky Italians who would rather be vacationing on the beach.

For travel purists, visiting any major city in Europe during the steamy, high tourist season is an ironclad no-no. But, often summer is the only time that one can travel, or, as in my case, one is offered the irresistible opportunity of spending a few days touring while on a business trip.

The best attitude to have toward touring, as toward anything in life, is to take it easy. The trick is knowing when to go to extremes in order to avoid the crowds, and when to go with the flow.

Avoiding the heat is a top priority. The best time of day to enjoy looking at historic outdoor sites is definitely early evening. Though it is still light out, the weather is cooler and tour groups have left.

I began my tour of the ancient Roman forum at seven in the evening. Viewing the stone buildings, with their majestic columns, in the peaceful evening as the sun set, lent a tranquil note to my visit.

And made it easier to contemplate the splendor that was once Rome. By contrast, during the day, it's not easy to find tranquility at the Colosseum. The monument is located in the midst of the busiest intersection in the city. In fact, the vast number of cars in Rome is taking a toll on many of the city's historic structures. The Colosseum is coated with a thick layer of

soot. One way of staying cool during the heat of the day is to explore air-conditioned museums. I was happy to discover that the cluster of art museums in the Villa Borghese area was not too crowded. The Etruscan art museum located in the lovely Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia is packed with ancient treasures — sculptures, vases and tools — but the explanations provided are poor, and only in Italian.

The Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, housed in the gorgeous Palazzo delle Belle Arti, was heaven for an art dilettante like me, who enjoys seeing a variety of styles from the 19th and 20th centuries. The museum houses the works of a wide range of Italian artists, and a smattering of the continent's greats: Degas, Monet and Van Gogh. It is well known for its impressive exhibitions, and this summer it doesn't disappoint. A fascinating modern art exhibition includes works which grapple with the Holocaust and the history of European fascism. The most dramatic piece is a ceiling-high stack of suitcases in the shape of the "Wailing Wall."

There are some places, however, where it is virtually impossible to avoid the summertime crush. The main attractions of Vatican City — St. Peter's Basilica and the Vatican museums, including the restored Sistine Chapel, are always crowded. If these attractions are a priority for you, check your calendar very carefully. Of the two days I had for sightseeing, one was a Catholic holiday, and the Sistine Chapel was closed.

In the oppressive midday heat, weary and sweaty from my wanderings, I parked myself in the shade of a tree between two major



In summer, it's best to visit historic outdoor sites like St. Peter's Square at day's end: It's cooler and the crowds are gone. (177)

attractions: Vatican City and the Castel Sant'Angelo. There I read about medieval Roman history, watched tourists head into the Vatican and tried to guess their countries of origin. Another choice spot to relax is under the umbrellas of cafes in the Piazza Navona, next to the Pantheon.

The historic Sinagoga Ashkenazita is located in the medieval Jew-

ish ghetto. The high-ceilinged building was built in 1904. Since Rome was declared an "open city" during World War II, the Nazis did not damage the synagogue (though they deported thousands of the city's Jews to the death camps). A leading member of the community gives a chilling first-person account of the deportation, and describes the features

of the beautiful building. The Roman Jews are proud of their heritage and their special style of prayer, which is neither Sephardi nor Ashkenazi.

It's difficult to go wrong when dining out in Rome — there's no such thing as bad pasta here. But if atmosphere is important to your dining enjoyment, there are two rules to follow. First, seek out the

authentic: stroll around less touristy areas until you see a restaurant filled with real Italians (they're the elegant, well-dressed ones). Then check that the restaurant doesn't have a menu in English. Bear in mind, though, that even menus in Italian aren't always accurate. The restaurant may be out of many items listed, or may feature specialties not on

the regular menu.

If you're happy to follow the tourists, you might try "Da Moe Patacca!" (exclamation marks included), a large restaurant in Piazza de Mercanti, in the beautiful and historic Trastevere neighborhood. The garden setting is filled with tables of Japanese, French, American and countless other tourists, soaking up the atmosphere of the establishment, which bills itself as "famous for fun, food, music and folklore."

And it certainly lives up to its promise. A traveling band wanders among the tables and a fairly impressive opera singer serenades the diners. During my visit, the festive atmosphere was enhanced by the fact that Italy was playing Mexico in the World Cup. When Italy scored a goal, the staff and the band broke out into cheers.

One advantage of visiting Rome during high season is the mini-Woodstock festival, which takes place nightly throughout the summer. On the famous Spanish Steps — so named because they were once part of the Spanish ambassador's residence — an international crowd of teenagers, college students on summer study programs, and adventurous backpackers join together in song.

The festivities begin early in the evening and go on until dawn. If you plan to join in, though, do be careful: While the area is heavily patrolled, pickpockets are active, and females should beware of local wolves on the prowl for the naive and the naive. The musical repertoire includes lots of Beatles and Simon and Garfunkel hits, and almost nothing recorded after 1980.

This is Rome, after all, and even during the tourist season, the classics reign supreme.

Adieu Djerejian: Fourth of July farewell party for US envoy

GRAPEVINE

GREER FAY CASHMAN

THIS year's Fourth of July festivities hosted by the US ambassador was a triple-pronged event. Not only was it a celebration of America's independence and its involvement in the Middle East peace process, but for most of the thousand-plus guests it was a chance to say farewell to US ambassador Edward Djerejian and his wife, Francoise.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, visiting Djerejian, was effusive in his praise for the ambassador's contribution to the peace process. Relaxed and in good humor, despite the presence of leading right-wing politicians, such as Bibi Netanyahu and Ariel Sharon, Rabin allowed his toast to evolve into a 12-minute speech.

Also present were Dr. Ahmed Tibi, who has been the key liaison between the PLO and Israel, leading Gaza activist Hafim Abu Ghazala and Gaza Industrialists Union chairman Muhammad Yazgi.

WHEN HE married in 1971, Aveni Tanao, Papua New Guinea's minister for tourism and civil aviation, neglected to give his bride Baya Riso a wedding ring. And he didn't make up for this



Yitzhak Rabin gave a 12-minute farewell toast to US Ambassador Edward Djerejian. (Nasrudi)

lapse until last Saturday, during a visit here.

After Tanao and his wife prayed in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, they visited a nearby jewelry store, where he finally placed a ring on her finger.

Reminded that former president Chaim Herzog had canceled a

state visit to Papua New Guinea in November 1986 because, inter alia, it had been suggested that he might be too appealing to local cannibals, Tanao and Brian Mui, first secretary of the Papua New Guinea Embassy in London, burst out laughing.

"We've got tastier meat in New

Guinea than that of the president of Israel," quipped Mui. Tanao was quick to add that visitors to his country need not fear ending up as someone else's lunch.

NEVER AT A loss for a joke, Aharon Lopez, director of the Foreign Ministry's Oceania Division, trotted out one of his favorites about David Ben-Gurion during a luncheon in Jerusalem hosted by Daniel Lew, honorary consul for Papua New Guinea.

It seems that the man who was to become the nation's first pre-

mier was in the habit of doffing his jacket at every opportunity. Invited to dine one night at the residence of the British high commissioner, Ben-Gurion, without so much as a by-your-leave, removed his jacket and hung it on the back of his chair.

The high commissioner, loath to embarrass his guest in front of others, dashed off a furious note demanding the meaning of such offensive behavior. Unabashed, Ben-Gurion replied that it was perfectly in order — he had Winston Churchill's permission.

After the other guests had left, the high commissioner turned to Ben-Gurion and demanded an explanation for his nonsensical excuse. "Well," said Ben-Gurion, "when I dined with Churchill, I also took off my jacket, and he told me, 'You can do that with the British high commissioner, but you can't do that here.'"

FOLLOWING A brief meeting with Chaim Herzog during his state visit to Poland in 1992, Grazyna Pawiak, the executive director of the Jewish Historical Institute Association, saw the possibility of realizing a dream.

Pawiak, who wants to build a \$25 million museum of Polish Jewish History on the site of Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute, has gathered together an international group of luminaries to form a steering committee, headed by Herzog.

The museum will highlight Polish Jewish involvement in diplomacy, politics and the arts.

THE FALL of communist regimes in Eastern Europe has prompted hundreds of Jews to return to their countries of birth or ancestry in search of records of Jewish life, family roots and family or community properties.

Amy Kronish, curator of Jewish films at the Israel Film Archives, is off to Poland to look for Jewish films produced before World War II. Husband Ron, who is director of the Interreligious Coordinating Council in Israel, will be in Warsaw at the same time for a conference of the International Council of Christians and Jews.

OF ALL the Israelis who met PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in the days when it was illegal for Israelis to have any contact with the PLO, the one who paid the highest price was peace activist Abie Nathan, who was jailed for his activities. When Nathan greeted Arafat in Gaza on Sunday, the PLO leader embraced him and referred to him as his brother.

Nathan, who had to sink his famous Voice of Peace radio ship earlier this year, has announced plans to open a new station, as well as a new restaurant. Nathan loves to cook and has had several such enterprises, the most popular of which was the "California" in Tel Aviv, a favorite bohemian hangout.

INTERNATIONAL hotelier David Lewis, who has made substantial contributions to the development of the Eilat foreshore and to the local tourist industry, has also contributed to Israel Aircraft Industry earnings.

A former World War II RAF

pilot who still prefers to sit in the cockpit, Lewis has acquired his own (AI)-manufactured Westwind plane which will make it easier for him to commute between London and Eilat. Lewis arrived in Eilat last weekend for the opening of the Royal Beach hotel, the largest and most splendid facility in his Israeli chain.

GETTING ELECTED to a key position is always gratifying, but must have been especially so for Judl Widetzky, chairwoman of the World Labor Zionist Organization. She has just been elected chairwoman of the International Council of Women's committee on migrants and refugees, and was voted in by the Moroccan delegation at the ICW's triennial conference in Paris. In the past, representatives of Moslem countries voted against Israeli candidates or abstained from voting altogether.

Princess Laiba Aicha Bel Arbi Aloui, head of the Moroccan delegation and sister of King Hassan, discussed with Widetzky the possibility of setting up a Mediterranean branch of the ICW.

Widetzky gave the princess a peace dove pin as a symbol of recent Middle East developments in politics and human relations.

GRAND OPENINGS notwithstanding, a tinderbox threatens to explode at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, where leading artists and board members, such as Danny Caravan and Raya Jaglom, are dissatisfied with the performance of museum director Ronnie Disenchik and are calling for the appointment of a permanent art director.

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